

Obituary



John Bowman
(1916–2006)

John Bowman, founding Editor of this journal, died on 8 May 2006, four days short of his ninetieth birthday. A Foundational Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities (established in 1969), he played a crucial role in promoting the study of the Middle East in Australia. His unwavering commitment to scholarship combined with a deep affection for Australia, his adopted home, and a personal generosity, transformed a broad field of study that had barely taken root in the Antipodes. At The University of Melbourne, the Middle East was part a package of programmes in Asian studies that were supported in the 1950s and 1960s.

John was born in Ayr, Scotland, into a devout Presbyterian family, who encouraged his studies and early interest in the Bible. Although he was a

sickly child, contracting a form of tuberculosis from drinking unpasteurised milk, he was a bright student with a gift for languages. Educated at Ayr Academy, he completed the demanding ancient Greek syllabus in one year, winning several medals in Classics, before moving to Glasgow University, where he read ancient languages and Biblical Studies, and was honoured with the Orientalist Prize. He furthered his studies at Balliol College, University of Oxford, and was awarded his doctorate in 1945 for *The Pharisees: A Critical Investigation*. While at Oxford he met and married Margaret Stanton. Subsequently, in 1947, John was appointed to the Department of Semitic Studies at Leeds University, where he developed his reputation as a serious scholar, and gradually rose to Head of Department.

But it was not until John was appointed, in 1959, to the Chair of Semitic Studies at the University of Melbourne that his standing as scholar matured. In the days when air travel was limited and expensive, and international communications were restricted, a delegate at the Commonwealth secretariat in London interviewed him for the position. Bristling with enthusiasm and determination, he relished the opportunities that Australia would bring. But moving was a major undertaking. Seven children, an extensive library and a house full of furniture were loaded on the P&O liner *The Himalaya*, which damaged a propeller at the Suez Canal, adding to the ordeal. And the landing at Freemantle was no less chaotic. Nevertheless the journey to Australia did little to dent his fondness of Australia and in 1961 John applied for citizenship.

Well before Mission Statements and Strategic Plans, John moved quickly and with a singular focus to develop his department as a centre to advance the understanding of Middle Eastern culture and civilisation, ancient and modern, in ways that were locally, nationally and internationally significant. According to the 1959 *Annual Report* of the Academic Board, John tackled his brief with 'missionary zeal'. In the first instance, he began to increase his staff numbers. Established in 1946, the Department of Semitic Studies was for a long time the only department in an Australian university that offered a full four-year honours degree, focusing on languages. Before John's arrival the department comprised one professor (Maurice Goldman) and two lecturers; by 1963 it had expanded to one professor and eight lecturers. Over a period of 14 years, John gathered experts from across the globe — Australia, England, Finland, Iran, Pakistan and Syria — and built a remarkable unit that was well known for its comprehensive curriculum and research interests. This community of scholars formed a friendly and relaxed atmosphere that accommodated eccentricities. A hint of this is provided by John himself in the Preface to one of his books: "The present

work *The Fourth Gospel and the Jews* was written by me and literally lost for some years in my study until it was found in the process of moving.”

Ever with an eye on drawing his department closer to the field’s centre of gravity, John promptly founded, in the same year (1960), two annual periodicals, thus providing researchers in Australia with a forum for publication: *Abr-Nahrain* (now *Ancient Near Eastern Studies*) was published by E. J. Brill (Leiden), whereas *Milla wa-Milla: the Australian Bulletin of Comparative Religion* was a local production, but no less international in its outlook. Then came resources. A good library was essential, and with characteristic energy and resolve he set about building up the Middle East holdings in the Baillieu Library at The University of Melbourne. Drawing on his experience at Leeds, John also began to build a manuscript collection of impressive proportions, travelling to various Middle Eastern heartlands in his quest. The collection is now considered among the treasures of the university’s cultural collections and comprises mostly Islamic religious texts, many highly illuminated. There are, however, important poetic works, educational primers, and texts on astrology and weaponry among its numbers. Most of the manuscripts are written in Arabic or Persian, although there are also examples penned in Turkish, Urdu, Ethiopic, Syriac, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Pushtu, Prakrit, and Mongol. Where original manuscripts were not available, John ordered microfilm copies — literally hundreds — that now form an invaluable resource. His commitment to Melbourne is also reflected by acts of kindness that are little known in wider circles. A quick glance at the library’s catalogue will reveal a great many antiquarian books, some dating to the 1600s, that John donated.

All this contributed to a thriving postgraduate school. At a time when it was fashionable to send the best and brightest students overseas to undertake postgraduate research, as Head of Middle Eastern Studies, as the department was called from 1966 onwards, John not only encouraged local students but attracted cohorts from other universities in Australia and overseas. Doctoral candidates pursued a diverse range of topics, including comparative religion, Arabic medicine, mysticism, Syriac Christianity, Samaritan studies, Islam, and Near Eastern archaeology. The department’s contribution in Syriac studies was especially significant in the international arena.

John was deeply interested in the study of religions and published five books and many articles. The complexities of the Judaeo-Christian religion formed a thread through his entire career. Using form criticism, for instance, he argued that the Gospel of Mark is not an accurate chronological guide to the ministry of Jesus, and as a whole owes much to selected

Old Testament passages as determined by Midrash. The significant happenings in Judaism towards the end of the first century AD, the subject of another book, and Samaritan studies (two further books) also piqued his intellectual curiosity. But it was the subject of comparative religions that saw him move seamlessly and most passionately between time and space, as his edited book on the subject suggests, ranging widely from the theology of various Asian faiths through Christianity, Judaism and Islam, to Sufi mysticism and the meditational discipline of Zen.

Although the Department of Middle Eastern Studies as an administrative unit no longer exists at The University of Melbourne, that the study of the Middle East still matters at Melbourne, and now forms part of several programmes, is in no small measure a legacy of the foundation that John had shaped.

John Bowman is survived by Margaret, his wife of 62 years, and their seven children.

Antonio Sagona¹

¹ I would like to thank Andrew Bowman and Andrew Jamieson for providing me with relevant details on John Bowman's early life and The University of Melbourne manuscript collection respectively.

The Story of Ancient Hebrew *’āšer*

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Abstract

This study is an investigation of the history of the Hebrew word *’āšer*, from the earliest inscriptional and biblical data to Mishnaic Hebrew, including the language of Ben Sira and the Qumran Scrolls. I consider the argument that *’āšer* witnesses a diachronic development, adding non-relative functions to the original relative function in later stages of ancient Hebrew, and conclude that the data do not support such an analysis. Instead, I argue that *’āšer* has a single function throughout ancient Hebrew: to nominalise clauses.

Introduction

The Hebrew grammatical word *’āšer* has recently been touted as a “parade example” of grammaticalisation, in which the focus is upon *’āšer* in its comparative Semitic context and in relation to the other relative words, specifically *še*.¹ It has also been asserted that *’āšer* undergoes further grammaticalisation *within* biblical Hebrew (BH).² Since I have critiqued the former proposal elsewhere,³ this essay will consider the second proposal, particularly in light of my previous claims that *’āšer* serves only two functions in BH: to introduce

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¹ Huehnergard 2006, p. 121.

² Givón 1974, 1991.

³ See Holmstedt 2006; the interested reader may contact me (robert.holmstedt@utoronto.ca) for a prepublication copy.

relative and complement clauses.⁴ In this essay I will extend my analysis to include non-biblical data up through Mishnaic Hebrew, and will offer a refinement of my earlier proposal by suggesting that the two functions, relative and complement clause subordination, can be subsumed under one syntactic function: *šer* is used to nominalise clauses.⁵

Pre-Hellenistic Period non-biblical Data

If we start with the earliest Hebrew and closely-related Canaanite dialectal data, we find that there are few early first-millennium examples of Semitic **atar*, as either a noun or as a relative word: we have only one occurrence in Moabite, from the royal “Mesha Stele” inscription, and one in Edomite, from an ostrakon found at Ḥorvat ‘Uza in the eastern Negev; these data are given in (1) and (2), respectively.

(1) **Moabite *šr***

wʾnk mlt[y ʿl] mʾt bqrn šr yspty ʿl hʾrʂ

‘I became king [over the] hundreds in the towns **that** I have added to the land’ (KAI 181, lines 28–29)

(2) **Edomite *šr***

wʾt tn ʾt hʾkl šr ʾmd ʾhʾmh

‘and now, give the food **that** Ahi’imo prepared(?)’ (Beit-Arieh and Cresson 1985, 97, lines 3–4)

Both of these are clearly instances of relative function words. In both cases, the *šr* introduces a verbal clause that modifies a nominal head, *towns* and *food*, respectively. Additionally, both *šr* relative clauses are restrictive, meaning that these clauses provide crucial information for the identification of the referent of each relative’s head. If we continue to set aside the biblical Hebrew data for the moment and examine the language of the first-millennium Hebrew inscriptions, we find similarly that all the extant occurrences of *šr* are unarguably relative in use, as in (3).

⁴ Holmstedt 2001, 2002.

⁵ A ‘nominal’ item is not to be equated with ‘noun’; ‘nominal’ is a broader category that includes all items that have [-verb] features, such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, agentive participles, and even prepositions. Thus, ‘to nominalise’ is to take a non-nominal item and subcategorise it so that syntactically it may function as a nominal item.

(3) Hebrew *ʾšr*

wgm kl spr ʾšr ybʾ ly ʾm qrʾty ʾth

‘and also any letter **that** comes to me, surely I can read it’ (Lach 3:10–12⁶)

If we only had these data, the analysis of *ʾāšer* would be straightforward: it nominalises clauses specifically in modification of nominal antecedents; *i.e.*, it introduces relative clauses.⁷ However, when we admit the BH data, the picture becomes slightly complicated.

Biblical Data

While there is little disagreement that *ʾāšer* functions as a relative word by the earliest stage of Hebrew for which we have data — of almost 5,500 occurrences of *ʾāšer* in the Hebrew Bible well over 5,000 are unarguably relative in function, all analyses assume that further change has occurred *within Hebrew*.⁸ This approach is succinctly summarised in BDB: apparently *ʾāšer* further changed so that it “weakened in Heb[rew] to a mere particle of relation”; in other words, it came to introduce a wide variety of subordinate clauses, including complement, causal, result, purpose, and conditional clauses.⁹

The complement clause function of *ʾāšer* is illustrated in examples (4)–(5). Example (4) presents a complement clause introduced by function word *kî*.

⁶ Arad 5:3–4, 9–10; 8:9; 18:6–8; 21:7; 29:7; 30:1; 40:4–5, 15; 71:2; KhBeitL 4:1–2; KunAj 16:1; Lach 2:5–6; 3:4–6, 10–12; 4:2–3, 3–4, 11–12; 9:4–9; 17:3; 18:1; MHash 1:6–8, 8–9; Mouss 1:1; 2:4–6, 6–8; PMur17a 1:2; NahY 1:1; SamBas 1:1; Silw 2:1, 2–3; 3:2; L Seal 6:2; Avig Hecht Seal 1:1–2; Avig HB 1 (=2), 3. See Davies 1991, pp. 293–94; 2004, pp. 137–38; Gogel 1998, pp. 168–72; Dobbs-Allsop, *et al.* 2005, p. 664.

⁷ Note that the term “relative pronoun” is nowhere used in this study, nor is it at all linguistically appropriate. The item *ʾāšer* does not carry agreement features like Hebrew pronouns, nor does it appear in similar syntactic environments. Rather, we may generally refer to *ʾāšer* as a “relative word,” or technically as a “complementiser.” The linguistic definition of complementiser is a function word that introduces a clause and allows it to be subcategorised as a noun phrase. While the term shares some similarity to the more general term “complement,” this should not be taken to indicate that a complementiser introduces *only* complement/object clauses. Therefore, in this work, I use “nominaliser” instead of “complementiser,” which I believe better describes the syntactic function of *ʾāšer* (see above, n. 2).

⁸ For the lone dissenting voice, see Schwarzschild 1990. For a critique of Schwarzschild’s proposal, see Holmstedt 2002, pp. 8–17.

⁹ BDB, p. 81. The reference grammars of GKC, IBHS, JM, and BHRG, as well as the lexicons of BDB, DCH, and HALOT list a combined 58 examples of *ʾāšer* used to introduce non-relative and non-complement clauses. Note that these 58 examples are out of almost 5,500 occurrences of the word *ʾāšer* in the Hebrew Bible. This statistic alone should raise a red flag in terms of grammatical economy.

The salient syntax of this construction is: a clause, headed by a function word, filling the syntactic role of the complement of a transitive verb, in this case, the verb [r'-h] 'to see'.

(4) **Complement Clause introduced by *kî***

wayyô'marû rā'ô rā'inû kî hāyâ yhw h 'immāk
 'then they said: We saw clearly **that** Yhw h was with you' (Gen. 6:28)

Compare that to the nearly identical syntax of (5), with the primary difference that the complement clause is introduced by *'āšer*.

(5) **Complement Clause introduced by *'āšer*¹⁰**

ûbammidbār 'āšer rā'itā 'āšer nāsā'ākā yhw h 'ēlōhēkā
 'and in the wilderness where you saw **that** Yhw h, your god, carried you' (Deut. 1:31)

We cannot understand the *'āšer* in clause like Deut. 1.13 as a relative word. Within relative clauses there is a position that corresponds to the head (whether the head is overt or covert). In ancient Hebrew that position inside the relative clause is often marked by a resumptive pronoun or resumptive adverb (such as the Hebrew word *šām* 'there'), as in (6), but the position may also be left as a trace (or gap), as in (7).

(6) **BH Relative with Overt Resumption of Head**

wayyiqra' ya'āqōb 'et šēm hammāqōm 'āšer dibber 'ittō šām 'ēlōhīm bêt 'ēl
 'and Jacob named **the place**; **that** God spoken with him **there**; Bethel'
 (Gen. 35:15)

(7) **BH Relative with no Overt Resumption of Head**

wayyaššēb ya'āqōb maššēbâ bammāqōm 'āšer dibber 'ittō
 'and Jacob set up a pillar in **the place**; **that** he [God] spoke with him
 Ø; ' (Gen. 35:14)

What is significantly different about *'āšer* complement clauses is that there is no such open or resumed position within the clause, as is clear from the

¹⁰ See Gen. 24:3; Exod. 11:7; Lev. 5:5; 26:40; Num. 32:23; Deut. 1:31; 3:24; Josh. 4:7; 1 Sam. 15:20; 18:15; 2 Sam. 1:4; 14:15; 1 Kgs. 2:44; 22:16; Isa. 38:7; Jer. 28:9; Ezek. 8:12; 20:26; Pss. 10:6; 89:52 (2x); Qoh. 5:4, 17; 7:18, 22, 29; 8:11, 12, 14; 9:1; Esth. 1:19; 2:10; 3:4; 4:11; 6:2; 8:11; Dan. 1:8 (2x); Ezra 2:63; Neh. 2:10; 7:65; 8:14-15; 10:31; 13:1, 19, 22; 2 Chr. 2:7; 18:15.

example in (5). The lack of either a trace or resumption syntactically distinguishes relative clauses from complement clauses when the same lexical item introduces both.

Are the Relative and Complement Functions of *’āšer* Related?

The diachronic question that I will take up from here is whether one of these two functions, relative or complement, proceeded from the other. Givón, using the framework of grammaticalisation, argues that *’āšer* developed from an initial relative marker to also introducing complement clauses at a later stage of the language.¹¹ Givón marshals data from biblical texts that he designates as either “early” or “late,” and he asserts that the early biblical examples of *’āšer* all represent relative clauses, while the later biblical examples exhibit first the additional function of introducing “subjunctive complements,” as in (8) below, and then finally the function of introducing verbal complements for verbs of cognition, as in (9).¹²

(8) *’āšer* Introducing a “Subjunctive Complement”

wayyō’mer hattiršātā’ lāhem ’āšer lō’ yō’klû

‘The minister told them that they shouldn’t eat’ (Ezra 2:63; trans. Givón 1974, p. 15; emphasis mine)

(9) *’āšer* Introducing a “Verbal Complement of Cognition”

kî higgîd lāhem ’āšer hû’ yəhûdî

‘because he had told them that he was a Jew’ (Esth. 3:4; trans. Givón 1974, p. 16; emphasis mine)

The inscriptional data partially support Givón’s diachronic analysis since there are no examples of complement clauses among the occurrences of *’āšer*; however, the paucity of *’āšer* examples among the inscriptions should deter us from drawing any firm conclusions (*i.e.*, the absence of an *’āšer* complement clause could be coincidental, given the number and types of inscriptional texts). And if we set aside Givón’s problematic assumptions concerning the dating of the texts in his corpus and the size of his corpus,¹³ and examine the

¹¹ Givón 1974, 1991.

¹² Note that Givón incorrectly categorises constructions with the accusative marker *’et* immediately preceding *’āšer* as complement clauses (1974, p. 18). The fact that *’et* never precedes the other complement clause subordinator, *kî*, suggests that cases of *’et ’āšer* are best understood as null-head relatives (see Holmstedt 2002, p. 9, n. 8).

¹³ Givón’s limited corpus prohibits him from seeing precisely the type of examples he proceeds to argue are non-existent in that material. For what he calls “early” BH, Givón 1974 uses

distribution of complement *ʾāšer* within the traditional three-stage framework that is held by the majority of scholars, a slight pattern does in fact emerge.

First, the texts typically identified as *archaic* (*i.e.*, Genesis 49, Exodus 15, Numbers 23–24, Deuteronomy 32–33, Judges 5, Psalm 68) lack any examples of *ʾāšer* used to introduce complement clauses, although since few instances of *ʾāšer* in these passages are actually in the early poetic material but are instead in the prosaic frames that could be part of a later redactional layer, we should be careful not to make too much of this. Second, outside of the so-called archaic Hebrew material, the *ʾāšer* complement clauses are distributed throughout the remaining linguistic strata, illustrated in (10)–(12).

(10) “Earlier Standard” BH

*ūlākōl bānē yiśrāʾēl lōʾ yehēraʿš keleb lāšōnō lāmēʾiʿš wāʾad bāhēmā
lōmaʿan tēdāʿūn ʾāšer yaplē yhwḥ bēn mišrayim ūbēn yiśrāʾēl*

‘and a dog shall not growl at any of the children of Israel, whether people or beasts, so that you may know that Yhwḥ makes a distinction between Egypt and Israel.’ (Exod. 11:7)

(11) “Later Standard” BH

*wayyōʾmer ʾēlāyw hammelek ʾad kammeh pāʾāmîm ʾānî mašbiʿekā ʾāšer
lōʾ tādabbēr ʾelay raq ʾemet bāšēm yhwḥ*

‘The king said to him: Up to how many times must I make you swear that you will say to me only the truth in the name of Yhwḥ?’ (1 Kgs. 22:16)

(12) “Late” BH

*kî gam pāʾāmîm rabbôt yādaʿ libbekā ʾāšer gam ʾattā (Qr) qillaltā
ʾāhērîm*

the first 20 chapters of Genesis and the book of Joshua, and Givón 1991 uses 35 chapters of Genesis, 20 chapters of 2 Kings. For what he identifies as “late” BH, both articles use Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Ezra and Nehemiah. For the post-biblical Hebrew, both articles use the first 17 chapters of the Mishna (the first two tractates, *Berakhot* and *Peʾah*, of the first order, *Zeraʿim*). Besides the problems that this limited corpus causes, biblical scholars will no doubt have issues with Givón’s simplified dating scheme. For example, the identification of Genesis and Joshua as “early” BH represents an oversimplification of the complex dating issues for both the texts and the language data within the Hebrew Bible, regardless of where one stands in the increasingly vigorous debate on the history of BH (on this issue, see below, n. 16). Genesis 49 is arguably early BH, but the remainder of the book is commonly considered ‘standard’ or ‘classical’ Hebrew dating to the early pre-exilic period, and is even considered post-exilic or later by some who are challenging the twentieth century majority position (*i.e.*, three stages — archaic, classical in the pre-exilic period, and late in the post-exilic period).

‘Because your heart also knows many times (over) that you yourself have cursed others.’ (Qoh. 7:22)

While the complement use of *ʾāšer* is present in each of the discernible “post-archaic” stages of BH, Rooker also noticed a trend towards increased use of *ʾāšer* to mark complement clauses in “later BH.”¹⁴ Thus, if we accept the three-stage model and the typical association between individual books and the three stages, Givón might be correct that BH *ʾāšer* takes the grammaticalisation path *Relative > Complementizer*¹⁵ while retaining the relative function. But if we set aside the absence of *ʾāšer* complement clauses in the inscriptions and “archaic” BH on the grounds that the data are too few to be conclusive, the increased use of complement *ʾāšer* in books typically classified as “later” or “late” BH could simply be coincidental. In fact, given the numerous recent challenges to the three-stage model, as well as the greater interest in identifying remnants of a northern dialect of Hebrew in the biblical material,¹⁶ we should perhaps refrain from making any strong statements on the supposed grammaticalisation of *ʾāšer* from the early to the later stages.¹⁷

It is interesting that Givón muses about whether the syntactic-semantic functions of *ʾāšer* are “organically” related; I think that this is the kernel of a viable alternative model for understanding the function of *ʾāšer* in ancient Hebrew. Like English *that* and French *que*, the two functions of Hebrew *ʾāšer* are reducible to a single semantic and syntactic classification: nominaliser. Whether used as a relative word or a verbal or nominal complementiser, *ʾāšer*

¹⁴ Rooker 1990, pp. III–12, 123; Givón makes this point as well (1974, pp. 15–17). Note that this tendency towards the increasing use of *ʾāšer* to introduce complement clauses had been noticed by the beginning of the twentieth century, e.g., Davidson, 1901 [1958]), p. 196.

¹⁵ Relative > Complementiser is listed as a known grammaticalisation path in Heine and Kuteva 2002, p. 254. Note, however, that Heine and Kuteva actually cite Songs 1:6 (as an example of ‘early’ BH, no less!) for this progression from relative to complementiser, no doubt relying on Givón’s studies. If their other supporting data are as suspect, the validity of this pathway becomes questionable.

¹⁶ For both defenses and critiques to the traditional three-stage model of biblical Hebrew, see the contributions in Young 2003 as well as the NAPH symposium contributions published in *Hebrew Studies* 46: Zevit 2005, Joosten 2005, Young 2005, Eskhult 2005; for recent studies dealing with ‘northern Hebrew,’ see Kaufman 1988, Schniedewind and Sivan 1997, and Rendsburg 1992, 2002, 2006.

¹⁷ It must be noted that after Givón presents the bulk of his diachronic argument, he then acknowledges the presence of complement and ‘subjunctive’ *ʾāšer* clauses in the material he calls early BH, i.e., Genesis and Joshua (1974, pp. 8–19). He seems not to recognise the significance of even a few such examples (and there are many more than he lists) for his proposal: if they existed at an early stage, then they were a part of the ‘grammar’ of Hebrew, and thus one cannot argue for the re-analysis of *ʾāšer* in this way (i.e., reanalysis is not an ‘on-again, off-again’ phenomenon; either it happened or it didn’t). Givón has confused the *usage* of a language with the *grammar* of a language.

is a grammatical word that allows clauses to be categorised as nominal items. In other words, in relative clauses *ʾāšer* nominalises a clause so that it may function as an adjective-like modifier of a noun (e.g., the man that...), and in complement clauses *ʾāšer* nominalises a clause so that it may function as a complement of a noun (e.g., the fact that...) or verb (e.g., he swore that...).

Other Supposed Functions of *ʾāšer*

Regardless whether one accepts that the relative and complement clause role for *ʾāšer* can be unified under the label *nominaliser*, or if there is a discernible diachronic relationship between the two functions, the fact that *ʾāšer* introduces these two clauses types is indisputable. What is arguable is whether any other functions should be listed under *ʾāšer* in the lexicon: in other words, does it add at some point the function of introducing causal, purpose, result, conditional, and temporal clauses? Or to put in another way, is the grammatical meaning of *ʾāšer* further bleached so that it becomes an all-purpose subordinator? I will propose an alternative below, but here let us simply consider the examples typically cited to support this multi-valent approach to *ʾāšer*, provided in (13)-(16).

(13) Causal¹⁸

wayyāmot ben hāʾiṣṣā hazzōʾt lāylā ʾāšer šākēbā ʾālāyw

‘then this woman’s son died in the night, **because** she lay on him’
1Kgs. 3:19 NRSV)

(14) Purpose¹⁹

haqhel lî ʾet hāʾām wēʾašmîʾēm ʾet dēbārāy ʾāšer yilmēdūn lēyirʾā ʾotî kol hayyāmîm ʾāšer hēm hayyîm ʾal hāʾādāmā

‘assemble the people for me, and I will let them hear my words, **so that** they may learn to fear me as long as they live on the earth’ (Deut 4:10 NRSV)

(15) Result²⁰

wēšāmtî ʾet zarʾākā kāʾāpar hāʾāreṣ ʾāšer ʾim yūkal ʾiṣ limnôt ʾet ʾāpar hāʾāreṣ gam zarʾākā yimmānē

¹⁸ For other supposed examples, see Gen. 30:18; 31:49; 34:13, 27; 42:21; Num. 20:13; Deut. 3:24; Josh. 4:7, 23; 22:31; Judg. 9:17; 1 Sam. 2:23; 15:15; 20:42; 25:26, 23; 2 Sam. 2:5; 1 Kgs. 15:5; 2 Kgs. 12:3; 17:4; 23:26; Jer. 16:13; Job 34:27; Eccl. 8:11, 12; Dan. 1:10.

¹⁹ For other supposed examples, see Gen. 11:7; 24:3; Exod. 20:26; Deut. 4:40; 6:3 (2x); 32:46; Josh. 3:7; 1 Kgs. 22:16; Neh. 8:14.

²⁰ For other supposed examples, see Gen. 22:14; Deut. 28:27, 35, 51; 1 Kgs. 3:8, 12, 13; 2 Kgs. 9:37; Mal. 3:19.

‘I shall make your offspring like the dust of the earth; **so that** if one can count the dust of the earth, your offspring also can be counted’ (Gen. 13:16 NRSV)

(16) **Conditional**²¹

ʾāšer nāšî yehēṭā wēʾāšâ ʾaḥat mikkol mišwōt yhwḥ ʾēlōhāyw ʾāšer lō tēʾšēnâ bišgāgā wēʾāšēm

‘if a ruler sins and inadvertently does one of any of the commands of Yhwḥ, his god, which should not be done, and he incurs guilt...’ (Lev. 4:22; see DCH, p. 433; HALOT, p. 99)

Hellenistic and Roman Period Non-Biblical Data

The broad range of functions for the word *ʾāšer* illustrated in (13)–(16) is also generally accepted for the second-century BCE Hebrew of Ben Sira, and the second-century BCE to first-century CE Hebrew of the Qumran Scrolls. Fassberg and Kaddari²² both provide recent discussions of *ʾāšer* clauses in the book of Ben Sira. Both assign to *ʾāšer* relative, conditional, temporal, purpose, result, and causal subordinating functions; thus, Ben Sira’s use of *ʾāšer* is considered to be similar to its supposed usage in BH. Consider the representative examples in (17)–(20).²³

(17) **Relative**

l tm’s bšmy’t šbym ʾsr šm’w m’btm

‘do not reject the report of the aged, **who** heard (it) from their fathers’ (8:9^A)

²¹ For other supposed examples, see Lev. 25:33; Num. 5:29; Deut. 11:26–28; 18:22; Josh. 4:21; 1 Sam. 16:7; 1 Kgs. 8:31, 33; Isa. 31:4.

²² Fassberg 1997; Kaddari 2005. Kaddari explicitly sets out to provide a “full and detailed” description of the relative clauses in Ben Sira, and he lists 64 occurrences of *ʾāšer*, although two are listed twice and two are listed by mistake (they include *še* not *ʾāšer*). This leaves 60 legitimate *ʾāšer* clauses in Kaddari’s study, to which we must add seven that he has overlooked: 10:9^A; 13:2^A, 7^A; 16:15^A; 36:31^{D[2x]}; 38:13^{margin}.

²³ Taking all of the Ben Sira Hebrew manuscripts together, as in the edition prepared by the Academy of Hebrew Language (*The Book of Ben Sira* 1973), there are 67 occurrences of *ʾāšer* in 48 verses: 3:22^C; 6:37^A; 7:31^A; 8:9^A, 14^A; 10:9^A; 12:15^A; 13:2^A, 7^A; 15:11^{A[2x]B}, 16^{AB}, 17^A; 16:7^{AB}, 15^A; 18:32^C; 30:19^B, 20^B; 33:4^{B + margin}, 5^B; 34:15^{B[margin]}, 16^B; 36:31^{B[2x]C[2x]D[2x]}; 37:12^{B[2x]D}, 15^{BD}; 38:13^{B + margin}, 14^B, 15^B, 27^B; 40:11^B; 44:9^{B[3x]M}, 26^B; 45:23^B, 24^B; 46:1^B, 11^B; 47:13^B, 23^{B[2x]}; 48:1^B, 4^B, 11^B, 15^B; 49:10^B; 50:1^B, 2^B, 3^B, 24^B, 27^{B[2x]}; 51:8^B. This includes three conjectured reconstructions of the text: 30:19^B; 36:31^C; 37:12^D (see *The Book of Ben Sira* 1973, pp. 99–100).

(18) **Conditional**

mh ythbr prwr 'l syr 'šr hw' nuqš bw whw' nšbr

'How can the pot go with the vessel? If they knock together, the pot will be smashed' (13:2^A; Fassberg 1997, p. 60)

(19) **Temporal**

a) *k'šr ybw' mk l' ytgllh lk*

'when your people comes, he will not reveal himself to you' (12:15^A; Kaddari 2005, p. 260)

b) *bqn'w l'whby kl wy'md bprš 'mw 'šr ndbw lbw wykpr 'l bny yšr'l*

'in his zeal for the God of everything, and he stood when his people burst out, **when** his heart prompted him and he atoned for the children of Israel' (45:23^B; cf. Kaddari 2005, p. 258)

(20) **Purpose/Result/Causal**

a) *w'm kl 'lh h'tr 'l 'l'šr ykyn b'mt š'dk*

'and with all of these, pray to God **in order that** (or: **because**) he shall direct your step in truth' (37:15^D; cf. Kaddari 2005, p. 258)

b) *lkn gm lw hqym hq bryt šlum lkelkl mqdš 'šr thyh lw wlzr'w khwnh gdwllh 'd wlm*

'therefore also for him he established a principle, a covenant of peace, in order to sustain the sanctuary, **so that** the great priesthood shall be for him and his descendants forever' (45:24^B; cf. Kaddari 2005, p. 258)

Similarly, if translations of the Qumran sectarian texts are any indication of common grammatical analysis, Qumran Hebrew, too, parallels BH in the use of *šer*. Consider the examples in (21)–(23)²⁴ (from a 232 *šer* clause corpus taken from the Damascus Document [CD], the Community Rule [1QS], and the War Scroll [1QM]).²⁵

²⁴ Each example in the text is provided with translations from Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1996.

²⁵ CD 1:3, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18; 2:13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21; 3:13, 14, 15, 19, 20; 4:1, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20; 5:2, 4, 6, 17; 6:6, 7, 9, 11, 13; 7:4, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 19; 8:1, 3, 4, 9, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21; 9:1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16; 10:1, 12, 13, 15, 16; 11:16; 12:2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18; 13:13, 16, 19, 20, 23; 14:1, 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22; 15:5, 8, 12, 13; 16:4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15; 19:3, 5, 7, 11, 14, 15, 21, 26, 30, 33; 20:5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 21, 22, 25, 31; 1QS 1:2, 4, 17, 26; 3:10; 5:1, 4, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22; 6:1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 24, 25, 27; 7:1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 25; 8:14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25; 9:8, 10, 15, 16, 24, 25, 26; 10:1, 12, 13; 11:6, 7, 16; 1QM 2:11, 13, 19; 3:13, 14; 5:17; 7:4, 6; 10:1, 6, 8, 9, 16; 11:4, 5; 14:3; 17:2; 18:5; 19:10, 11.

(21) Causal

a) *nplw {ʾydy} ḥšmym bh nʾhzw ʾšr lʾ šmrw mšwt ʾl*

‘the Guardian Angels of Heaven fell and were ensnared by it, **for** they did not observe the commandments of God’ (CD 2:18; WAC, p. 53)

b) *ʾšr qrʾ ʾl ʾt kwlm šrym*

‘**because** God had called them all princes’ (CD 6:6; WAC, p. 56)

(22) Conditional

ʾlynyʾ ʾš šbwʾh ʾšr lʾ ydʾnh hm lhqym hyʾ wʾm lhnyʾ

‘he should not annul an oath **if** he does not know whether it should be allowed to stand or be annulled’ (CD 16:11; WAC, p. 66)

(23) Purpose/Result

myʾ kmwkh ʾlysrʾl bšmym wbʾrš ʾšr yšh kmšykh hgdwlym

‘who is like You, O God of Israel, in heaven and on earth, **that** he can do according to Your great works?’ (1QM 10:8; WAC, p. 160)

Beyond the Qumran texts, the next large corpus of Hebrew material is that of the Mishna, which ostensibly dates to the first to third centuries CE. At this point in Hebrew, we find a slight change in the use of *ʾāšer*. According to Pérez Fernández, *ʾāšer* is “reserved only for biblical quotations and liturgical texts.”²⁶ Indeed, the majority of the 69 occurrences (in 54 verses²⁷) in the Mishna appear in a biblical quotation, and the remainder are demonstrably liturgical, with “elevated and semi-Biblical” style.²⁸ The examples in (24)–(25) illustrate each type.

(24) Biblical Quotation

wēkol hehārīm ʾāšer bammaʾdēr yē ʾādērūn

‘and any hills **that** are hoed with a hoe’ (Peʾah 2:2; quoting Isa. 7:25)

(25) Liturgical

rʾ tarpôn wʾ ʾāšer gēʾālānū wēgāʾal ʾet ʾābôtēnū mimmišʾ

²⁶ Pérez Fernández 1999, p. 50.

²⁷ Peʾah 2:2; Maas. Sh. 5:11, 12, 13; Hal. 4:10; Bik. 1:3, 4, 5; Pes. 10:6; Yoma 5:5; R. ha-Sh. 2:9; 3:8; Taʾan. 2:3; 3:3; Hag. 1:5; Yev. 12:6; Ned. 3:11; Sot. 2:2; 4:1; 5:2; 7:4, 5, 8; 8:1, 2, 4; 9:5, 6; Qid. 4:14; Arayot 5; B.Q. 9:12; San. 10:1, 5; 11:2; Mak. 1:3, 6; 2:2; 3:15; Avot 3:3, 6, 8; 5:18; Zev. 10:1; Men. 5:2, 6; Bek. 1:7; Arak. 7:5; 9:2, 3; Ker. 4:3; Neg. 12:5, 6; 14:10; Yad. 4:8.

²⁸ Segal 1927, p. 42.

‘Rabbi Tarfon says: ...**who** redeemed us and redeemed our ancestors from Egypt’ (Pes. 10:6)

By the late first century, then, the relative word *’āšer* was no longer in common use, but had become a lexeme associated with the biblical period and biblical language. It is interesting, though, that all the examples that are not direct quotes from the Hebrew Bible are simple relative uses of *’āšer*. The contributors to the Mishna clearly saw *’āšer* as a relative word, and nothing more. This fact poses a problem for the grammaticalisation approach to Hebrew *’āšer*, since one of the pillars of grammaticalisation theory is the unidirectional nature of the process.²⁹ But the approach sketched so far means that *’āšer* became more grammatical during the biblical period, and then by the later Mishnaic period became less grammatical.

An Alternative Proposal: Everything is Relative

If Hebrew *’āšer* has not undergone grammaticalisation, what are we to make of the item’s function up to the Mishnaic period? I have argued previously that all of the supposed non-relative, non-complement examples of *’āšer* in the Hebrew Bible are in fact relative clauses;³⁰ the question here is whether this approach adequately accounts for the non-biblical data.

As with the biblical data, the key is being able to identify the head accurately. In many cases, the head of a relative in Hebrew is covert (what I have called null-head relatives) or placed at a distance from *’āšer*, that is, “extraposed” relatives. In (26)–(29) I have presented again the biblical examples from (13)–(16) above, re-analysed as relative clauses, in order to illustrate what I have argued for BH.

(26) [= (13)] Extraposed Relative

wayyāmot ben_i hā’iššā hazzō’t lāylā [t_i ’āšer šākēbā ’ālāyw]

‘then the **son_i** of this woman died (at) night, [**t_i** **that** (she) laid upon him]’ (1 Kgs. 3:19)³¹

²⁹ Hopper and Traugott 2003, pp. 99–139; see also Heine 2003, Haspelmath 2004.

³⁰ Holmstedt 2001, 2002.

³¹ There are two possible heads for this extraposed relative: ‘the son of this woman’ or just ‘this woman’. ‘The son’ is the subject of the clause and the initial logical choice for the head of the relative. If we analyse the relative clause as modifying ‘the son’, the non-restrictive (and extraposed) relative provides further information about the son that would appear to be necessary in order to place blame upon the boy’s mother for his death. Although it is possible to analyse the relative as modifying the second half of the larger construct phrase, ‘this woman’, this is rather awkward in that the relative clause would modify a DP-internal, non-argument constituent.

(27) [= (14)] **Normal Relative**

*haqhel lî ʾet hāʾām wəʾāšmīʿēm ʾet [dēbārāy ʾāšer yilmēdūn lēyirʾā ʾōtî
kol hayyāmîm ʾāšer hēm hayyîm ʿal hāʾādāmâ]*

‘assemble the people for me, and I will let them hear [my words that they must learn in order to fear me as long as they live on the earth]’ (Deut. 4:10)

(28) [= (15)] **Normal Relative (resumption by full copy of the head)**

*wəšamti ʾet zarʾākā [kaʾāpar hāʾareṣ ʾāšer ʾim yûkal ʾis limnôt ʾet ʾāpar
hāʾareṣ gam zarʾākā yimmānê]*

‘I will make your offspring like [the dust of the earth that if one can count the dust of the earth your offspring also can be counted]’ (Gen. 13:16)

(29) [= (16)] **Null-headed Relative (semantics of null head supplied by context)**

*[Ø ʾāšer nāšî yehpēṭā wəʾāšā ʾaḥat mikkol mišwôt yhwḥ ʾēlōhāyw ʾāšer lō
tēʾāšēnâ bišgāgâ wəʾāšēm]*

‘[(the day/time/occasion) that a ruler sins and inadvertently does one of any of the commands of Yhwḥ, his god, which should not be done, and he incurs guilt]...’ (Lev. 4:22)

Does this alternative analysis work for the non-biblical data like those that I cited above in (17)–(23)? A one-word answer is “yes.” All 67 of the *ʾāšer* clauses in Ben Sira and 232 *ʾāšer* clauses isolated in the Qumran texts CD, 1QS, and 1QM can be analysed as relative clauses. In (30)–(35) I have presented again most of the examples from (18)–(23) above, re-analyzed as relative clauses.

(30) [= (18)] **Ben Sira Null-Headed Relative**

mḥ ythbr prwr ʾl syr [Ø ʾšr ḥw ʾnwqš bw] whw ʾnšbr

‘How can the pot go with the vessel? [(The day/time/occasion) that they knock together], the pot will be smashed’ (13.2^A)

(31) [= (19a)] **Ben Sira Null-Headed Relative**

k [Ø ʾšr ybw ʾmk l ʾytlh lk]

‘at³² [(the time) that your people comes], he will not reveal himself to you’ (12.15^A)

(32) [= (20b)] **Ben Sira Normal Relative**

lkn gm lw hqym hq bryt šlw m lklkl [mqdš šr thyh lw wlrw khwnh gdwllh d wlm]

‘therefore also for him he established a principle, a covenant of peace, in order to sustain [the sanctuary that (= where) the great priesthood shall be for him and his descendants forever]’ (45.24^B)

(33) [= (21a)] **Qumran Extraposed Relative**

nplw {‘ydy} hšmym_i bh n’hzw [t_i šr l’ šmrw mšwt l’]

‘the Guardian Angels of Heaven_i fell and were ensnared by it, [t_i that did not observe the commandments of God]’ (CD 2.18)

(34) [= (22)] **Qumran Normal Relative (resumption of the head inside the relative)**

l yny’ yš [šbw h šr l’ yd’nh hm lhqym hy’ w’m lhny’]

‘he should not annul [an oath that he does not know whether it should be allowed to stand or be annulled]’ (CD 16.11)

(35) [= (23)] **Qumran Extraposed Relative**

my’_i kmwkh l yšr l bšmym wb’rš [t_i šr yšh km šykh hgdwlym]

‘who_i is like You, O God of Israel, in heaven and on earth, [t_i who can do according to Your great works]?’ (1QM 10.8)

Conclusion

After examining a thousand years worth of ancient Hebrew data, what can we reasonably conclude regarding the word *šer*? First, the data suggest that by the time of the Hebrew for which we have evidence, the word *šer* encoded a single syntactic-semantic function, to nominalise clauses. This is manifested in two ways, as a relative clause strategy and as a verb and noun-

³² Waltke and O’Connor propose that what is sometimes labeled as the ‘temporal’ use of *ka-* is in fact related to either approximation (‘about that time’) or correspondence (‘at the (same) time’) (IBHS 1990, p. 205). For a discussion of the *kašer* type of Hebrew relative clauses, see Holmstedt 2002, pp. 73–79.

complement clause strategy. Concerning the extreme few examples of *ʾāšer* that are often analysed as something other than relatives or complements, all but a handful can be analysed as relatives (either simple, null-headed, or extraposed). And second, it does not appear that there are any demonstrable changes in the use of the word from the earliest attested stage of Hebrew through to the Mishna; in other words, ancient Hebrew *ʾāšer* did not undergo reanalysis.

Postscript

Out of the nearly 5,500 *ʾāšer* clauses in the Hebrew Bible, the number of cases that do not easily fit a relative or complement analysis are eleven, that is one-fifth of one percent. Those examples are in the following verses: Gen. 11:7; 34:13; Deut. 4:10, 40; 6:3; 11:26–28; 1 Sam. 15:15; Ezek. 36:27; Qoh. 7:21;³³ Dan. 1:10; Neh. 2:3. Here I want to address these very few cases, which are continually cited as representative non-relative *ʾāšer* clauses: consider (36)–(37).

(36) *hābā nērādā wənābālā šām šapātām ʾāšer lōʾ yišmāʾū ʾiś šapat rēʾehū:*

‘come, let us go down, and confuse their language there, so that they will not understand one another’s speech’ (Gen. 11:7 NRSV)

(37) *ʾrəʾē ʾānōkī nōtēn lipnēkem hayyôm bərākā ūqālālāh²⁷ et habbərākā ʾāšer tišmāʾū ʾel mišwōt yhwē ʾēlōhēkem ʾāšer ʾānōkī məšawwē ʾetkem hayyôm:*

‘See, I am setting before you today a blessing and a curse: the blessing, if you obey the commandments of the LORD your God that I am commanding you today.’ (Deut. 11:26–27 NRSV)

I can see no plausible way to analyse any of these *ʾāšer* clauses as either a relative clause or a complement clause. Each seems to demand a purpose/result (36) or conditional (37) clause analysis, respectively, as the provided English translations illustrate. What, then, do we do with these apparently aberrant examples? Since they represent less than one-fifth of one percent of the 5,500 *ʾāšer* clauses in the Hebrew Bible, not including the 299 included clauses from Ben Sira and Qumran, I suggest that we hesitate in recognising them as a part of the grammar of ancient Hebrew. It is possible that they are

³³ The use of *ʾāšer* in the book of Qoheleth/Ecclesiastes as a whole is less than obvious; see my forthcoming *The Relative Clause in Ancient Hebrew* (Eisenbrauns) for lengthy discussion of the “grammar” of *ʾāšer* in Qoheleth.

grammatical, particularly if we subscribe to Sapir's maxim that 'all grammars leak,' which suggests that there is room at the edges of a language's grammar for strange, but grammatical, constructions. However, given the extreme statistical rarity of examples in which *'āšer* serves a non-nominalising role, I strongly prefer to exclude altogether these examples from the grammar of Hebrew; while they might have been interpretable (an open question for which we shall never have an answer since we lack native speaker input), they are nonetheless grammatically unacceptable.

This should not be a troublesome conclusion, since if we believe ancient Hebrew to be a real language, then we should expect to face marginally acceptable and even outright ungrammatical examples in such a large and varied corpus as the Hebrew Bible.³⁴ In other words, unless we believe that each one of the authors of the Hebrew Bible represented the "ideal speaker" of ancient Hebrew in the best Chomskyan sense and that they wrote as well as they spoke — a highly improbable situation, any theological convictions concerning the Bible notwithstanding — we should neither be surprised to find errors, nor should we attempt to include them in our grammars as anything other than a footnote. Let us simply identify poor grammar for what it is.

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³⁴ For an insightful discussion the nature of ancient Hebrew as a linguistic remnant that adequately represents a language system, see Miller 2004.

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The Nature of Goliath's Visual Disorder and the Actual Role of His Personal Bodyguard: נִשְׂא הַצִּנָּה (I Sam 17:7,41)

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Abstract

This article should be understood in continuation of V. M. Berginer's previous article suggesting that Goliath suffered from visual field restriction as a result of acromegaly. Thus the actual role of Goliath's personal bodyguard נִשְׂא הַצִּנָּה (I Sam 17:7, 41) was taken there as that of a guide for the visually impaired; and Goliath's claim to have seen David armed "with sticks" (בִּמְקָלוֹת) — I Sam 17:43) after the reader has just been informed that David was armed with but one stick (I Sam 17:40) was interpreted there as an indication of his impaired vision. The present more detailed article will attempt to provide much more evidence, both medical and philological (from both biblical and ancient Near Eastern sources) for all these assertions. The giant Goliath was most probably suffering from acromegaly (due to pituitary tumor) in which the main concomitant disorders are bilateral visual field constriction and in some cases diplopia (while central "tunnel vision" remains intact). A detailed chart has been provided listing the various possible allusions in the text of I Sam 17 to the empirical symptoms of this disease as exhibited by Goliath (including relatively slow movement). It will further be contended that this usage of נִשְׂא הַצִּנָּה in the present context is in fact satirically euphemistic and is intended to (secondarily) heap ridicule on the blasphemous, insolent Philistine, Goliath, in the eyes of the astute reader without,

*however, detracting from David's heroic achievement. Finally, it will be suggested that the author is implying that it was in fact Divine intervention that truly caused David to decline King Saul's magnanimous proposal to utilize his own heavy armor and weaponry even after the king himself had outfitted David with them (1 Sam 17:38–40). Given the circumstances of Goliath's medical condition as suffering from acromegaly, had the king's proposal been accepted, it would have cost David his military advantage and given Goliath (despite his visual disorder) the upper hand.**

I. Introduction and Medical Evidence

It was recently suggested by V. M. Berginer that the key to understanding why the giant, heavily-armed, and experienced warrior, Goliath, suffered defeat at the hands of the militarily inexperienced, lightly-armed, shepherd lad, David, was that the former “might have had a visual disorder”, due to the medical condition known today as acromegaly.¹ Besides the often-cited textual emphasis regarding Goliath's slow, deliberate movement (usually attributed mainly to his being weighed down by heavy armor and weaponry) as opposed to David's agility,² Berginer's initial suggestion was based on two additional pieces of textual evidence:

a) understanding the actual role of Goliath's personal bodyguard **נִשְׂא הַצִּנָּה** (literally “shield-bearer” — 1 Sam 17:7,41) as that of a guide for the visually impaired;³

* This paper was first presented jointly in Hebrew by the present authors (in a somewhat abbreviated form) on Dec. 23, 2003 as part of a special conference commemorating the 3000-year anniversary of King David and the thirty-year anniversary of the death of David Ben-Gurion, the founder of the modern State of Israel. This conference (held under the auspices of the David's Victory Foundation and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) was entitled “From David until David, There Was None like David” and took place in the vicinity of the Valley of Elah, where the David - Goliath contest is purported to have occurred according to 1 Sam 17:2. Note that the translation of all Biblical Hebrew verses is usually according to *Tanakh* — *The Holy Scriptures, The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (JPS: Philadelphia and Jerusalem, 1985).

¹ Berginer 2000, pp. 725–727 (quote is from p. 725).

² E.g. 1 Sam 17:43–44, 48–49. See e.g. the comments of Josephus, Qimchi, and most recently Halpern, all conveniently summarized in Halpern 2001, pp. 10–11. Here it may be added that the incremental idiomatic usage of the verb **הִלֵּךְ** together with another verb (in 1 Sam 17:41,48 the verb is **קָרַב** — see the chart below) often implies gradual progress (*i.e.* not all at once but gradually over a continuous period of time). For this meaning, cf. especially the exact same usage with the verb **קָרַב** in 2 Sam 18:25, and the similar usage of **הִלֵּךְ** with other verbs: Exod 19:19 **הִלֵּךְ וְחוֹק מֵאֵד** “grew gradually louder and louder”; Jonah 1:11,13 **רָדַד הִלֵּךְ וְחוֹק וּבֵית שָׂאוּל** “was gradually becoming more stormy”; 2 Sam 3:1 **וְדָוִד הִלֵּךְ וְחוֹק וּבֵית שָׂאוּל** “but David kept growing gradually stronger, while the House of Saul grew gradually weaker” — introduced by the time phrase **וַתְּהִי הַמִּלְחָמָה אֲרֻכָּה** “The war was long drawn out ...”. On this usage, see e.g. *BDB*, p. 233; Joüon and Muraoka 1991, p. 428 (§1235).

³ Berginer 2000, p. 726: “This man was most likely a guide who would indicate to Goliath the direction from which the enemy was approaching.”

b) interpreting Goliath's claim to have seen David armed with sticks (כִּי אָתָּה בָּא אֵלַי בַּמִּקְלֹת 1 Sam 17:42–43), occurring immediately after the reader has been informed that David was armed with but one stick (וַיִּקַּח מִקְלֹו בְיָדֹו "He took his stick in his hand" — 1 Sam 17:40), as "one of the indications of his impaired vision."⁴

In the present, more detailed article, an attempt will be made to provide much more evidence, both medical and philological for these assertions. It will further be contended that this usage of נִשָּׂא הַצִּנּוּה in the present context is in fact satirically euphemistic and is intended to (secondarily) heap ridicule on the blasphemous, insolent Philistine, Goliath, in the eyes of the astute reader without, however, detracting from David's heroic achievement. The ultimate rationale, artfully implied by the author, underlying the mighty warrior Goliath's defeat at the hands of the militarily inexperienced shepherd lad, was not merely Goliath's diminished mobility due to his being weighed down by heavy armor and weaponry,⁵ but in fact Goliath's visual disorder which rendered him incapable of fighting any kind of battle other than a close quarter contest between two champions (which is what was expected in any case).⁶ Thus it was Goliath's visual impediment, which in the end gave the nimble David the military advantage and allowed him to take the victorious offensive position *from afar*. The clear implication, however, is that there is no way that David could have known in advance about Goliath's medical condition! Thus, one can only assume that the author is implying that it was in fact Divine intervention that truly caused David to decline King Saul's magnanimous proposal to utilise his own heavy armor and weaponry even after the king himself had outfitted David

⁴ Berginer 2000, p. 726.

⁵ For Goliath's diminished mobility as the *immediate* reason for his defeat, see the penetrating strategic and literary analysis in Halpern 2001, pp. 10–13. What is missing from this analysis is the *ultimate* reason underlying Goliath's decision to heavily arm himself in this manner. It is this ultimate reason as initially suggested by Berginer (Berginer 2000, pp. 725–727) and further developed in the present study (*i.e.* Goliath's visual disorder which allowed him to fight only close quarter contests between two champions), which provides a better answer to the questions discussed by Halpern in his aforementioned analysis. It is our opinion that Goliath's visual disorder is the true underlying cause for his diminished mobility, which would also explain why he had no problem weighing himself down with all his weaponry. Since his diminished mobility was a result of his permanent visual disorder, it would not have disappeared had he made use of lighter weapons. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that Goliath's diminished mobility would have made no difference in a close quarter duel between champions, and that in such a case Goliath surely would have won despite his visual disorder (that would have had no effect on his direct frontal vision)!

⁶ For this common expectation of a personal duel by King Saul, Goliath, and all the other participants, see most recently the discussion of Halpern 2001, pp. 12–13.

with them (1 Sam 17:38–40). Had this proposal been accepted, it would have cost David his military advantage and given Goliath (despite his visual disorder) the upper hand.

It is our contention that the physical description of Goliath as a giant in 1 Sam 17:4 followed by his specific actions and movements and David’s response to them in their ensuing battle, all may best be explained if we assume that Goliath is being depicted empirically as suffering from the disease known today as acromegaly and its concomitant visual impairment.

Acromegaly was first medically described by P. Marie in 1886.⁷ This multi-system disease, which affects various organs and bodily functions,⁸ is caused by growth hormone (GH) hyper-secretion due to pituitary adenoma, a benign tumor in the pituitary gland. Clinically, GH excess leads to augmented somatic (physical) growth (including gigantism which may develop if the onset of GH hyper-secretion begins prior to epyphyseal [bone] closure) [*cf.* Fig. 1], facial and skeletal disfigurement, arthropathy (disease of joints), organomegaly and metabolic derangement (such as glucose intolerance or frank diabetes mellitus). Extension of the tumor outside of the sella turcica (base of skull) may result in chiasmal or oculomotor nerves compression with visual field restriction and/or ophthalmoplegia, including diplopia (*cf.* Figs 2–3).

II. Possible Textual Allusions Suggesting that Goliath Suffered from Acromegaly

The various possible allusions in the text of 1 Sam 17 to the empirical symptoms of this disease as exhibited by Goliath may best be appreciated cumulatively as a running commentary to the relevant verses according to the following chart:

Biblical Text (1Sam 17)	Our Interpretation	Possible Pathophysiological Explanation
גִּלְיָת שְׁמוֹ מִנֶּת גִּבְהוֹ שֵׁשׁ אַמּוֹת וְחֶרֶת “his name was Goliath of Gath, and he was six cubits and a span tall” (17:4). ⁹	Gigantism (up to three meters tall).	Growth hormone over-secretion from childhood, possibly due to pituitary adenoma.

⁷ See Marie 1886, pp. 297–333.
⁸ See Melmed and Kleinberg 2003, pp. 230–243.
⁹ For the other attested reading, אַרְבַּע אַמּוֹת וְחֶרֶת “four cubits and a span” reflected in LXX^{BL}, Josephus (*Ant.* 6.171), and now actually attested in 4QSam^a, see especially

וַיִּשְׁמַע שָׁאוּל וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הַפִּלִּשְׁתִּי הָאֵלֶּה וַיַּחֲתוּ וַיִּרְאוּ מְאֹד “When Saul and all Israel heard these words of the Philistine, they were dismayed and terror- stricken” (17:11).	Frightening voice.	Deep sonorous, resonant voice oc- curs in association with laryngeal hypertrophy and enlarged paranasal sinuses.
וַיֵּלֶךְ הַפִּלִּשְׁתִּי הֶלֶךְ וְקָרַב אֶל דָּוִד “And the Philistine was gradually approaching David” (17:41). וְהָיָה כִּי קָם הַפִּלִּשְׁתִּי וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּקְרַב לְקִרְאֵת דָּוִד וַיִּמְהַר דָּוִד וַיִּרְץ “When the Philistine began to gradually approach David again, David quickly ran to the battle line to face the Philistine” (17:48).	Relative slowness. Goliath is depicted as no match for David’s agility. As Goliath gra- dually approaches, David swiftly runs to the position that is most advantageous for his plan.	Due to visual impairment and heavy weight.
וַיֹּאמֶר הַפִּלִּשְׁתִּי אֶל דָּוִד לָכֵּה אֵלַי “And the Philistine said to David, ‘Come to me’” (17:44).	Goliath taunted David to come ever closer, apparently because of problems of vision.	<u>Visual Impairment</u> a) Suprasellar expansion of the tumor (<i>cf.</i> fig. 2, black arrow) leads to chiasmal compression with bitemporal hemianopsia (vi- sual field restriction — <i>cf.</i> fig. 3). b) Lateral expansion of the tumor (<i>cf.</i> fig. 2, white arrow) invades the cavernous sinuses that contain the oculomotor cranial nerves (III, IV, VI). This condition may lead to lateral diplopia (double vision horizontally).
וַיִּקַּח מִקְלֹו בְיָדוֹ “He took his stick in his hand” (17:40). וַיֹּאמֶר הַפִּלִּשְׁתִּי אֶל דָּוִד הֲכֹלֵב אֲנֹכִי “And the Philistine called out to David, ‘Am I a dog that you come against me with sticks?’” (17:43).	David took his one stick (מִקְלֹו), but Goliath saw “sticks” (מִקְלוֹת), apparently due to double vision (see section IV below for philo- logical discussion).	<i>Both constricted visual fields and diplopia may be observed in acro- megaly, while the central (‘tunnel’) vision is preserved.</i>

the discussion in McCarter 1980, pp. 286, 291. The MT reading would indicate a height of nine feet, nine inches (= 2.97 meters), while the other (more likely) reading would imply a height (still a giant for this era) of six feet, six inches (= 1.98 meters). As McCarter (citing M. D. Coogan) claims, it is most likely that a mistake has been made in the MT version in anticipation of the term שש מאות “six hundred” three verses later (17:7). Otherwise, one would have to assume an intentional reduction of the height in the other aforementioned sources, which would seem much less likely. See also *BHS*, 474, n. 4c.

This table thus summarises the Biblical evidence in the form of possible textual allusions supporting our suggestion that Goliath may have been empirically depicted in 1 Sam 17 as suffering from the medical condition known today as acromegaly.

III. The New Philological and Iconographic Evidence for the Title נִשְׂא הַצָּנָה

Of course, there is no way to prove philologically that the phrase נִשְׂא הַצָּנָה (literally “shield-bearer”) in 1 Sam 17:7, 41 (“who walks before him [*i.e.* Goliath]”) is being used as a satirical euphemistic title for a guide for the visually impaired. We will, however, attempt to demonstrate philologically both that the regular Biblical meaning of this phrase does not at all fit the present context, and that the usage suggested here is in complete accordance with the intentions of the biblical author. Some fascinating iconographic evidence from the ancient Near East will also be presented here in support of the philological conclusions. The following six paragraphs detail all this evidence:

a) There are four common usages of the semantically related terms צָנָה and מָגֵן, both meaning “shield”.¹⁰ These four common usages include all 18 other occurrences of צָנָה besides the two occurrences under discussion (1 Sam 17: 7, 41). The four common usages are as follows: 1) as hendiadys מָגֵן וְצָנָה (Jer 46:3; Ezek 23:24; 38:4; 39:9; Ps 35:2; 1 Chr 12:9) in a war context or metaphorically with respect to God; 2) in war contexts especially with other weapons (Ezek 26:8; 1 Chr 12:25, 35; 2 Chr 11:12; 14:7; 25:5; 3) as a metaphor referring to God as a shield (2 Sam 22:31; Ps. 5:13; 18:31; 91:4; Prov 30:5;¹¹ 4) in contexts referring to the production of shields (1 Kgs 10:16–17; 2 Chr 9:15–16).

b) The etymology of BH צָנָה is now clear. It derives from Mari *šinnatum* “shield”¹² which occurs several times and in all the usages listed above for

¹⁰ On the usages of the BH term צָנָה, see especially *BDB*, 857; *HALOT*, 1037; *TDOT* 8, 74–87 (esp. 84); *NIDOTTE* 3, 819–820; Keel 1980, pp. 201–203; Wiig 1999, esp. 52–56, 140–161.

¹¹ See the works by Keel and Wiig in the previous note. Ps. 91:4 should be read and understood according to the analysis of Blau 1978, pp. 308–309 (with the aid of the textual variants in 11QPs^a). Contrast Rofe 2003, pp. 311–320. On the meaning of the term שָׁתָרָה, see also Abrahami 1991, pp. 20–21 (#26).

¹² On this etymology, see especially Sasson 1969, pp. 27 and 67, nn. 135, 136 (with reference to G. R. Driver, *WO* 2 [1954], 20); Frankena 1974, pp. 43–44; *HALOT*, 1037; Abrahami 1991, pp. 20–21 (#26), especially n. 6; and most recently and definitively Durand 1998, pp. 391–392. Contrast *CAD*, S, 201; Salonen 1965, pp. 89–90; *AHW*, 1047; *CAD*, S, 285–286; and most recently *CDA*, 324. As a result of a review of the first (1999) edition of *CDA* by M. Stol in Stol 2000, pp. 625–629, in which the above positive evidence and bibliography was mentioned and the conclusion reached on p. 626 was “Read *šinnatum* ‘shield’ (!) (He-

BH **צָנָה** except for the first usage (in hendiadys with **מָגֵן**) — *e.g.* ARM IV, 66:5–6 (war context); XIII, 56:4–6 (production of shields); XIII, 144:32–33 (metaphorical usage).¹³

c) From the context of 1 Kgs 10:16–17 (mina = 50 sheqel), it is clear that the **צָנָה** was four times as large (weighed four times as much) as the **מָגֵן**.¹⁴ Thus it is clear that the **מָגֵן** was a relatively small light shield held by the warrior in one hand, while an offensive weapon (*e.g.* a sword) was held in the other hand. As opposed to this, the **צָנָה** was the much larger, heavier shield held separately by the **נֹשֵׂא צָנָה** “shield bearer” to protect the archer and himself (see next paragraph). The archer could not hold a small shield in one hand *because he needed both hands to operate the bow!*¹⁵

d) Iconographically, it is clear that in war contexts these enormous shields were carried separately by shield bearers whose purpose was *solely* to protect and defend the archers and themselves. That is the only attested purpose of the shield bearer according to this iconographic evidence, dating from both the Early Dynastic III period in Mari (“the earliest representation of a siege scene” dating *c.* mid-third millennium BCE) and from Neo-Assyrian reliefs (especially eighth — seventh centuries BCE). Three photos are provided as examples of this important iconographic evidence: the first (*cf.* Fig. 4) is the aforementioned depiction of the earliest known siege scene, found on a small slab discovered in the ‘pre-Sargonic’ palace at Mari;¹⁶ the second (*cf.* Fig. 5) is from a Neo-Assyrian relief dating from the period of Sargon II (721–705 BCE); the third (*cf.* Fig. 6) is from a Neo-Assyrian relief depicting Sennacherib attacking Lachish (701 BCE).¹⁷

e) In Neo-Assyrian documents detailing the structure of the various Assyrian armies, the archers and the shield-bearers (Akk. *arītu*) often occur one after the other, *with the exact same number of each*, clearly demonstrat-

brew *šinnāb*,” the authors of CDA on their website (p. 19) have now corrected this lexeme in their dictionary from *šinnatum* to *šinnatum* I and changed the meaning from “spear, lance” (with a question mark) to “shield” citing “Stol, *Bi. Or.* 57 (2000) 626 with mention of Hebrew *šinnāb*; J.-M. Durand, *LAPO* 17, 391.” The CDA website is http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/cda_archive/default.htm (the date of the current version is 5.9.2004).

¹³ On this Mari usage, see most recently the comment of J.-M. Durand cited in the previous note. See also Durand 1997, pp. 478–480 and n. i.

¹⁴ *Cf.* also the slightly different text in 2 Chr 9:15–16. On this context, see especially Cogan 2001, pp. 316–318. See already previously *e.g.* De Vaux 1961, p. 244.

¹⁵ See Yadin 1963, pp. 13–15, 48–49, 64–65, 83–84, 265–267, 354–355, but especially 295–296.

¹⁶ See Yadin 1972, pp. 89–94 (photo is from p. 90, fig. 1 = Parrot 1971, p. 269 and plate 14: 4). See also Abrahams 1991, pp. 20–21 (#26), especially nn. 5 and 9; and most recently Collon 2004, p. 464 and fig. 6.

¹⁷ Besides the bibliography referred to in the captions to figures 5 and 6, see also De Vaux 1961, p. 245; *NIDOTTE* 3, 819–820; Cogan 2001, p. 317.

ing once again the sole military function of the shield bearers in the Neo-Assyrian army.¹⁸

All this evidence proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the literal meaning of “shield-bearer” is impossible for נושא צנה in the context of 1 Sam 17:7, 41.

f) Finally, in the twentieth Book of the Iliad of Homer, lines 273–281, there is a perfect example of the usage of shields in two-fighter contests (duels).¹⁹ The shields in such contests are of course important defensive weapons, but they are the smaller shields, held in one hand by the protagonists, while the other hand wields an offensive weapon (e.g. a sword). In a two-man duel, *there surely is no room for a third individual labeled as “shield-bearer”*.

All this evidence clearly indicates that the term נושא צנה (literally “shield-bearer”) in 1 Sam 17:7, 41 must refer to another function. The only clue to that function (which also helps explain the euphemism because it is also spatially connected to the true military function of the shield-bearer as protector of the archer) is the phrase describing that function להלך לפניו (“(proceeding) in front of him”).

We thus surmise that the phrase נושא צנה “shield-bearer” was originally used by the Philistines themselves as a honorable euphemistic title for the individual who served as Goliath’s guide for the visually impaired so as not to denigrate the military reputation of the Philistine heroic warrior, Goliath. They may well have even given him a shield to carry in order to camouflage his true function! For the Biblical author, however, we assume that this same title served as a satirical expression in order to mock the only enemy of Israel in the entire Hebrew Bible who dared to curse the God of Israel. As emphasised previously, this was done not in an overt blatant way, but rather through literary allusion, so as not to detract from David’s heroic victory.

IV. The New Philological Evidence for the Intentional Discrepancy מְקַלּוֹ vs. מְקַלּוֹת

The second piece of philological evidence has to do with Goliath’s claim to have seen David armed with sticks בַּמִּקְלּוֹת (בְּמִקְלּוֹת) “that you

¹⁸ See especially Malbran-Labat 1982, pp. 81–82. Note that in these Neo-Assyrian documents, the term *arītu* (one of the regular Akkadian terms for “shield”) is often used with the meaning “shield-bearer”, just as *qaštu* “bow” can be used for “archer” and *sisū* “horse” can be used for cavalry. See Malbran-Labat 1982, p. 227, n. 211. For the usage of *arītu* with the meaning “shield-bearer”, see *CAD*, A/2, 270 (meaning 2).

¹⁹ See e.g. Lattimore 1951, p. 411.

come against me with sticks” — 1 Sam 17:42–43), occurring immediately after the reader has been informed that David was armed with but one stick (יָקַח מִקֶּלֶוֹ בְּיָדוֹ “He took his stick in his hand” — 1 Sam 17:40). We see this discrepancy as a second intentional literary allusion (once again not in an overt blatant way for the reason discussed above) to Goliath’s impaired vision. While translations like that of the NJPS (“that you come against me with sticks”) surely conjure up an association with the famous saying “sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me”, there is a fundamental difference between such usage of the English generic term “sticks” and the BH מִקְלוֹת. In BH, the generic term is in fact the grammatical singular מִקֶּל that may be translated either “stick” or “sticks” (as a generic collective noun), while the plural מִקְלוֹת can only be understood as a non-generic grammatical plural “sticks” (as is also the case with אֲבֶן “stone” or generically “stones”, but אֲבָנִים are only grammatically plural “stones”).²⁰ For this principle, see *e.g.* Gen 1:27; 32:6 (contrast 30:43). The most important philological evidence for this specific case, however, is in fact Gen 30:37–42. In verse 37, we read as follows (with the NJPS translation): “Jacob then got fresh shoots of poplar (מִקֶּל לִבְנֵה לַח), and of almond and plane, and peeled white stripes in them, laying bare the white of the shoots (אֲשֶׁר עַל הַמִּקְלוֹת).” Here we find once again what appears at first glance to be the same discrepancy between the singular מִקֶּל and the plural מִקְלוֹת (being used here in the sense of “shoots” rather than “sticks”) that we find in 1 Sam 17:40,42–43. The difference in Gen 30:37 is that the plural sense “shoots” is clearly intended in both cases (see the translation above), as is also indicated by the fact that the plural form מִקְלוֹת is the only form used in the rest of the wider context — verses 38, 39, 41 (twice). Therefore, the singular construct form מִקֶּל in verse Gen 30: 37 can only be understood as a collective generic noun (as explained above) with the same meaning here as the regular plural מִקְלוֹת “shoots” at the end of the verse.²¹ There is no way that מִקֶּל in 1 Sam 17:40 could be understood in the plural sense! The best way to understand this discrepancy in 1 Sam 17:40, 42–43, is as another (not overt or blatant but none the less) intentional literary allusion to Goliath’s impaired vision.

²⁰ See *e.g.* Joüon and Muraoka 1991, pp. 497–499 (§135abc).

²¹ See already Weinfeld 1975, p. 176 [in Hebrew]. For a similar case with the term חָלַל “slain ones” (as a collective noun) together with the preceding regular plural form of this noun in the same verse, see Ezek 11:6 (cited in Joüon and Muraoka 1991, p. 498 (§135c)).

V. Conclusion

In conclusion, we suggest that there is no blatant textual evidence for Goliath's visual disorder in the Biblical text, because such overt evidence would have detracted from David's heroic achievement. In lieu of such blatant evidence, the author chose to present the more sophisticated reader with a few bonafide literary allusions as we have seen. It is thus fitting to conclude our research with the famous Aramaic saying, which appropriately describes in our opinion both the original intention of the author of this chapter as well as the method of this very study: **דִּי לַחֲכִימָא בְּרַמְיָא** "a mere allusion is sufficient for the wise".

Abbreviations

(excluding primary Akk. sources for which see *CAD*, P, vii–xxvii)

AHw W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959–1981.

Akk. Akkadian

BDB F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906.

BH Biblical Hebrew

BHS Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967–1977.

CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956ff.

CDA A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian, edited by J. Black, N. George, and N. Postgate, second edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.

HALOT The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, eds. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner *et al.* Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000.

MT Masoretic Text

NIDOTTE New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.

TDOT Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977ff.

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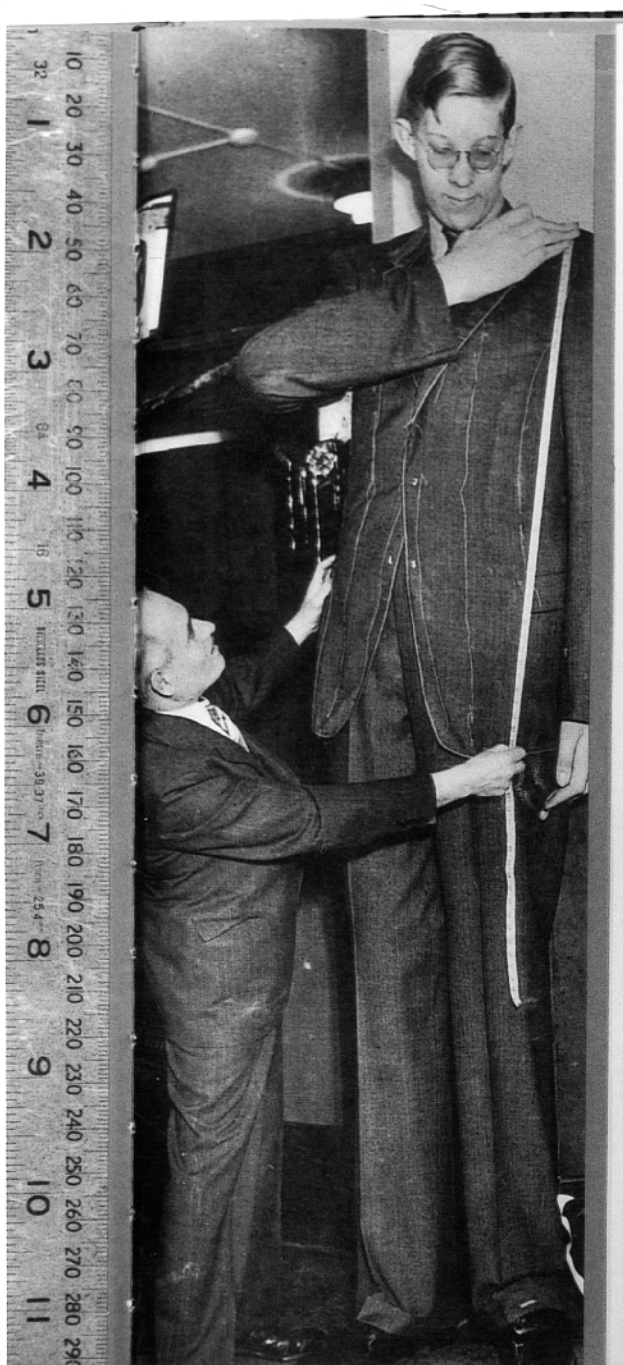


Fig. 1 Acromegalic giant, Robert Wadlow, height 272 cm
(measured by Drs C. M. Charles and C. MacBride on June 27, 1940
in St. Louis, MO, USA).

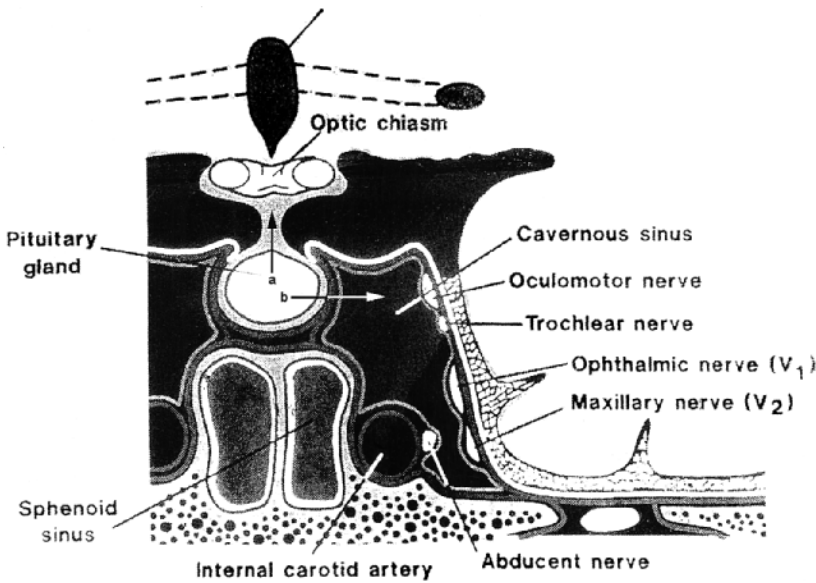


Fig. 2 Anatomical relations of the pituitary gland (located in the *sella turcica*).

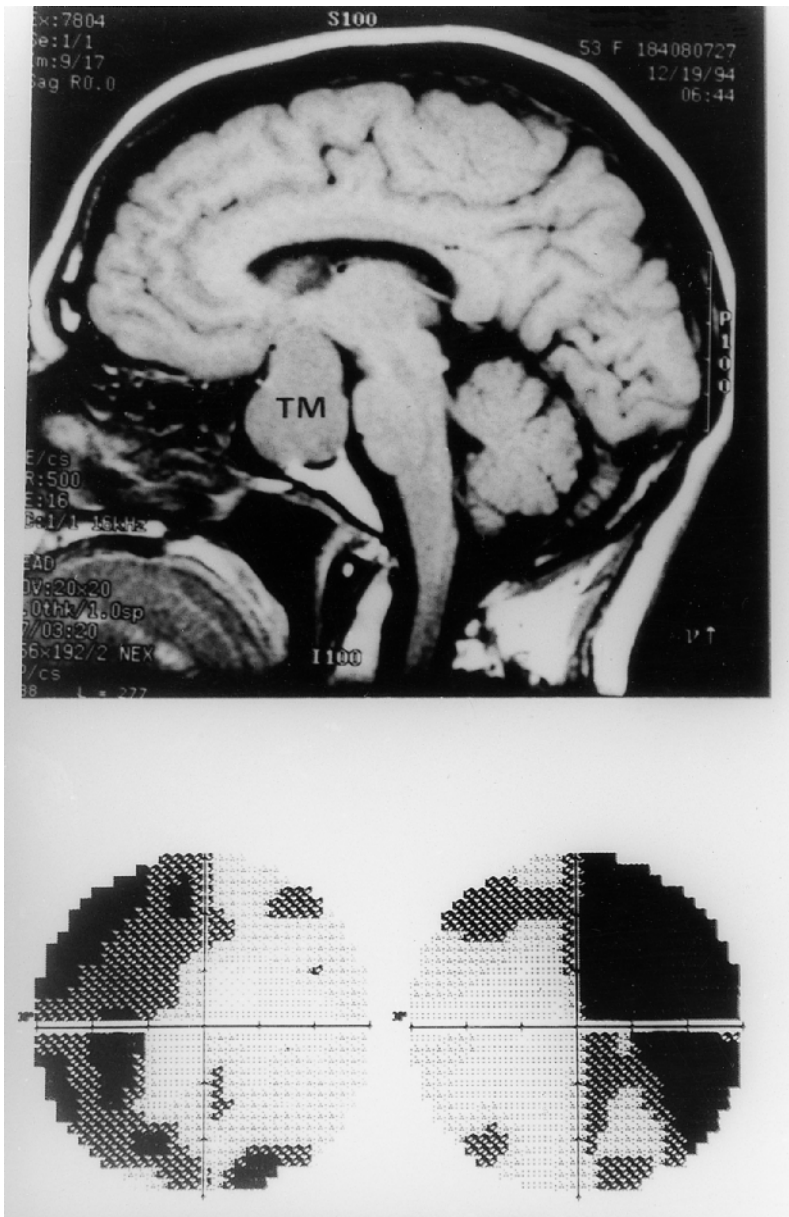


Fig. 3 Magnetic resonance imaging of pituitary macroadenoma (TM). The tumour enlarged the *sella turcica*, eroded its floor, and pressed upon the optic chiasm causing bitemporal hemianopsia.



Fig. 4 “The earliest representation of a siege scene”, from Mari (dating from the Early Dynastic III period *ca.* mid-third millennium BCE). After Yadin 1972. Depicted here may well be the prototype for the Mari *šinnatum* “shield” = BH שִׁנָּתוּם.

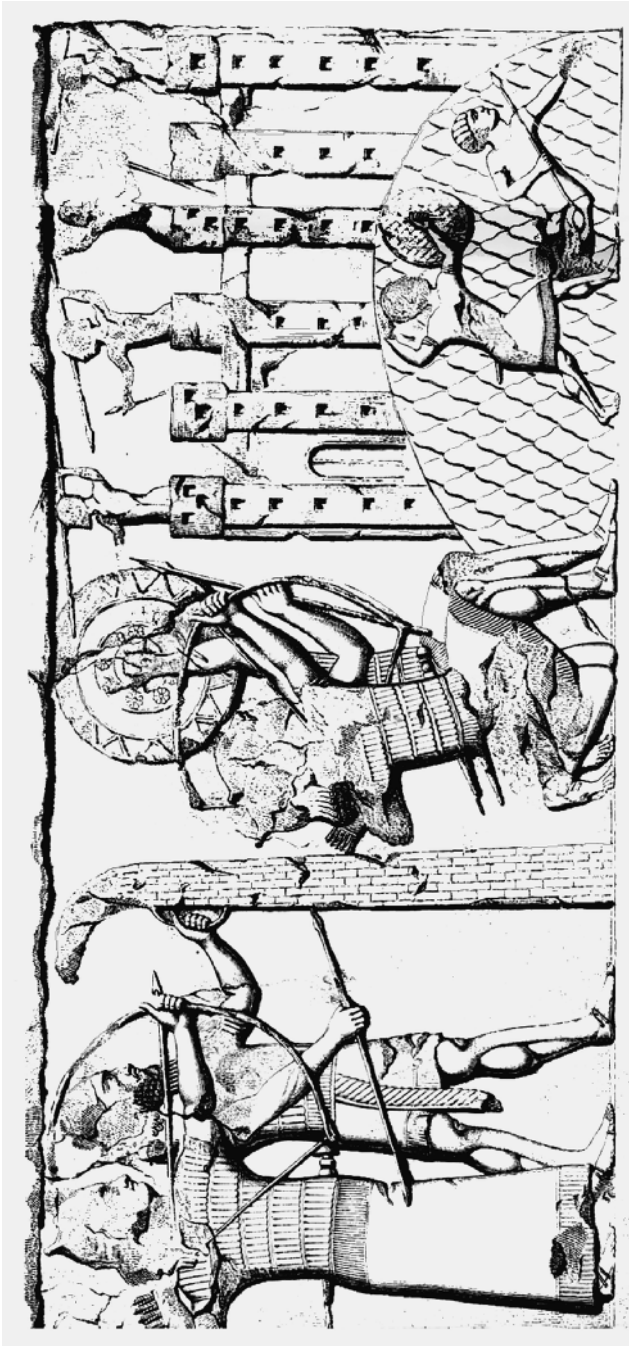


Fig. 5 An assault on a city in south-western Palestine (period of Sargon II, 721–705 BCE). After Yadin 1963. Yadin's description is as follows (p. 419):

"The city is set on the top of a mountain, and its single wall has bastions and balconies. Two well-armed archers are seen in operation at the left.

The one standing is protected by a huge hooded shield, held by a shield-bearer, who also holds the 'next' arrow in readiness. The other fires from the kneeling position, and is protected by a round shield held by a bearer. It has been suggested that this scene records the assault on the coastal city of Raphiah, near the Palestine – Sinai border."⁹

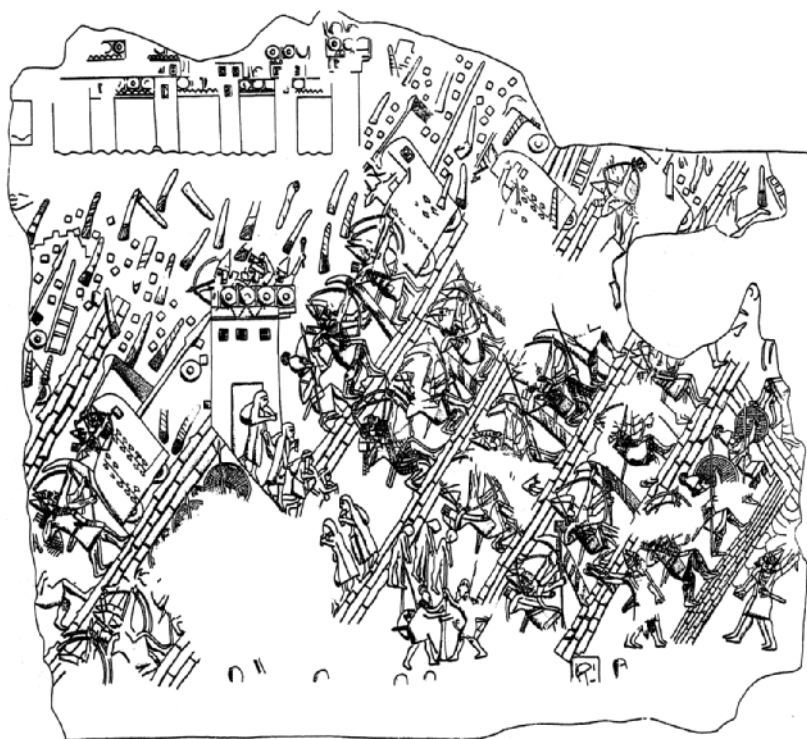


Fig. 6 Storming the besieged city of Lachish — segment III (701 BCE). After Ussishkin 1982.

David's Sin according to Josephus

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Abstract

2 Samuel 11 relates the infamous story of David's adultery and murder. This article focusses on Josephus' retelling of the story in his *Antiquitates judaicae* 7.129b–146. The investigation focusses particularly on three questions: the text-form(s) of 2 Samuel 11 utilised by Josephus, the rewriting techniques applied by him to the biblical data and the distinctiveness of his version that results from their application, and Josephus' handling of the biblical account in relation to its treatment elsewhere in ancient Jewish tradition.

A quarter of a century ago, T. Muraoka published an article in the predecessor of this journal on the 'Lucianic' text of 2 Samuel 11.¹ The present contribution focusses on another stage in the long transmission-history of the biblical chapter, *i.e.* the retelling of its story of David's adultery and murder found in Josephus' *Antiquitates judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.*) 7.129b–146.² My investigation aims to address three over-arching questions regarding Josephus' version of the infamous episode. Firstly, given the differences among the witnesses to the text of 2 Samuel 11, *i.e.* MT (BHS), 4QSam^a,³ the Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)⁴ and the Antiochene or Lucianic (hereaf-

¹ Muraoka 1981–1982. I have consulted the following commentaries on 2 Samuel 11: McCarter 1984, pp. 276–291; Anderson 1989, pp. 150–156; and Caquot and de Robert 1994, pp. 465–475. I have likewise consulted the literary-critical analyses of the chapter by Fokkelman 1981, pp. 50–70 and Alter 1999, pp. 249–256 in order to see if/how their observations concerning its narrative artistry are applicable also to Josephus' version.

² For the text and translation of *Ant.* 7.129b–146 I use the edition of Marcus 1968, pp. 430–439. I have likewise consulted the older text of the passage in Niese 1955, vol. II, pp. 118–122 and the text, translation and notes of Nodet 2001, vol. III, pp. 157–162*. See also the translation and notes in Begg 2005, vol. 4, pp. 244–248.

³ For 4QSam^a 2 Samuel 11 (which is only extant for vv. 2–12*, 16–29*) I use the text of Finke 2001, pp. 192–199 and the translation of Abegg, Flint and Ulrich 1999, pp. 244–245.

⁴ For the B text of 2 Samuel (2 Reigns) 11 I use Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray 1927, pp. 137–140. At 2 Rgns 11:2 there is a shift from the foregoing 'non-*kaige* segment' 1 Rgns 1:1–

ter L)⁵ manuscripts of the LXX, the *Vetus Latina* (hereafter VL),⁶ the Vulgate (hereafter Vg.),⁷ and Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets (hereafter Tg.),⁸ where do Josephus' textual affinities in *Ant.* 7.129b–146 lie? Secondly, in retelling the story of David's sin, what sort of rewriting techniques does Josephus apply to the biblical data and what is distinctive about his own version as a result of their application? Finally, how does Josephus' handling of David's offense compare with the treatment of it elsewhere in Jewish tradition?

For my comparison, I divide up the material of 2 Samuel 11 and *Ant.* 7.129b–146 into six parallel segments as follows: 1) Introduction (11:1// 7.129b); 2) David and Bathsheba (11:2–5// 7.130–131a); 3) David and Uriah (11:6–13// 7.131b–140); 4) Uriah's Death (11:14–17// 7.135–140); 5) Uriah's Death Reported (11:18–25// 7.141–145); and 6) Marriage and Birth (11:26–27a⁹// 7.146).

1. Introduction

2 Sam. 11:1 brings to a (temporary) conclusion the preceding story of David's Ammonite wars told in 2 Samuel 10 (// 1 Chronicles 19),¹⁰ while also making the transition to the following episode of the king's sin (11:2ff.) with its concluding words: "But David remained in Jerusalem".¹¹ Josephus (7.129b) makes his own transition to the subsequent 'sin story' via an anticipated adaptation of the notice of 11:1b^β (and 1 Chr. 20:1b^β): "Then, *as it*

2 Rgns 11:1 to a 'kaige segment' that extends to 3 Rgns 2:12. Whereas the latter segment is characterised by a wide-going assimilation to the text of (proto-)MT, the former passage has not undergone the same degree of such assimilation and so stands as a key witness to the 'Old Greek' text of Reigns. On the topic, see Barthélemy 1963, pp. 34–41, 91–143.

⁵ For the Antiochene/Lucianic text of 2 Samuel (2 Reigns) 11, I use Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz 1989, pp. 115–118.

⁶ For the (highly fragmentary) VL readings in 2 Samuel 11, I use: Fischer 1983, pp. 61–63; Morano Rodríguez 1989, pp. 40–41.

⁷ For the Vg. text of 2 Samuel 11, I use: Gryson 1994, pp. 429–431.

⁸ For the targumic text of 2 Samuel 11, I use: Sperber 1959, vol. II, pp. 175–177 and the translation of Harrington and Saldarini 1987, pp. 178–180.

⁹ Like many commentators, I reckon the notice on God's displeasure at David's deed (2 Sam. 11:27b^β) to the following passage (2 Samuel 12), which tells of the working out of the divine disapprobation in David's life. At the same time, I shall often refer to 2 Sam. 11:1–27ab^α simply as 2 Samuel 11 for short.

¹⁰ Josephus' version of this passage is *Ant.* 7.117–129a, on which see: Begg 1998, pp. 27–48.

¹¹ 2 Sam. 11:1 has a biblical parallel — evidencing a variety of differences in detail — in 1 Chr. 20:1ab^α. As is well known, the Chronicler leaves aside the whole story of David's sin and the divine response to this (2 Sam. 11:2–12:25). Thus in his presentation his parallel to 2 Sam. 11:1, *i.e.* 20:1ab^α is followed immediately by his version (20:1b^β–3) of 2 Sam. 12:26–31, the victorious conclusion of the Ammonite wars.

was the winter season,¹² he returned to Jerusalem”.¹³ Thereafter, he continues with an account of the renewal of the Ammonite campaign drawn (selectively) from 2 Sam. 11:1abx// 1 Chr. 20:1abx: “... but, at the beginning of spring,¹⁴ he sent (ἐπεμψεν)¹⁵ his *commander-in-chief*¹⁶ Joab to make war on the Ammanites”.¹⁷ Joab, after *overrunning* all their country and ravaging it,¹⁸ shut them up in their capital Rabatha (Ῥαββαθὰ)¹⁹ and laid siege to it”.²⁰

2. David and Bathsheba

2 Sam. 11:2 proceeds immediately to relate the first in the series of events that constitute David's ‘fall,’ *i.e.* his sighting of a beautiful woman bathing. The historian (7.130a) prefaces his parallel to this happening with a remark

¹² This chronological indication has no direct equivalent in Josephus' biblical sources (I italicise such items throughout this essay). It does, however, seem inspired by the opening allusion in 11:1// 20:1 to “the turn of the year,” which Josephus takes as referring to the “beginning of spring”; see above. In addition, the indication intimates a motive for David's returning to Jerusalem at this point, *i.e.* with the onset of winter military operations would effectively cease, this making his presence in the field less necessary.

¹³ This reference to the king's ‘return’ to Jerusalem (compare 11:1// 20:1 where he is said to “remain/sit” [Hebrew: יָשַׁב] in the capital) picks up on the mention of David's crossing the Jordan to conduct operations against the Ammonites in person in *Ant.* 7.128 (// 2 Sam. 10:17// 1 Chr. 19:17).

¹⁴ This chronological precision renders more specific the opening allusion to “the turn of the year” in MT 11:2// 20:1. Josephus' rendition has an counterpart in the Tg. on 1 Chr. 20:1 which reads “at the time of the end of the year... during the day of the month of Nisan,” Nisan falling in the spring; see McIvor 1994, p. 112 (Tg. 2 Sam. 11:2 has simply “at the time of the end of the year”). Josephus leaves aside the appended biblical formulation “when kings [Hebrew מַלְכִּים] this is the reading of 1 Chr. 20:1 as well as of many Hebrew MSS, LXX Tg., and Vg. in 2 Sam. 11:1; MT 11:1 reads הַמְּלָאכִים, messengers] go forth to battle.” On the ‘cunning ambiguity’ of the reading in MT 11:1 — which disappears in Josephus' rendering — see Alter 1999, p. 249.

¹⁵ In using this term, which highlights the initiative of David in the reactivation of the Ammonite campaign, Josephus agrees with 2 Sam. 11:1 against 1 Chr. 20:1, where Joab, seemingly on his own, ‘leads out’ the army. Alter 1999, p. 249 notes that the verb ‘to send’ (שָׁלַח) is a *Leitwort* in MT 2 Samuel 11, occurring no less than eleven times there (Josephus uses the Greek equivalent, πέμπτω/ μετὰπέμπτω only four times in 7.129b–146; see 7.129b, 130, 131, 141).

¹⁶ Josephus supplies this title for Joab who conducts the renewed Ammonite campaign according to 2 Sam. 11:1// 1 Chr. 20:1. He recounts Joab's attaining the title in *Ant.* 7.64 (// 1 Chr. 11:6) in virtue of his having been the first to ascend the walls of Jebus.

¹⁷ Josephus supplies this indication concerning the purpose of David's ‘sending’ of Joab as cited in 2 Sam. 11:1; see n. 15. Conversely, he has no equivalent to the mention of “his (David's?) servants with him, and all Israel” in the continuation of 11:1.

¹⁸ In having Joab ‘ravage’ the Ammonite ‘country,’ Josephus agrees with 1 Chr. 20:1 against 2 Sam. 11:1 (where the general ‘ravages’ the Ammonites themselves).

¹⁹ This is the conjecture of J. Hudson which Marcus adopts. Niese and Nodet read Ῥαββαθὰ. 2 Sam. 11:1// 1 Chr. 20:1 call the city ‘Rabbah.’

²⁰ Josephus' formulation expands on the summary allusion to Joab's ‘besieging’ Rabbah in 2 Sam. 11:1// 1 Chr. 20:1.

that aims to put what follows in perspective and to underscore how ‘out of character’ David’s subsequent actions in fact were. His inserted statement on the matter reads: “*Now David, although he was by nature a righteous and godfearing* (δικαίῳ καὶ θεοσβεῖ)²¹ man, *and one who strictly observed the laws of his fathers* (τοὺς πατέριους νόμους),²² *nevertheless fell into grave error* (πταῖσμα δεινόν²³)”.²⁴

Following the above remark, Josephus presents (7.130b) his version of the happening related in 11:2 (see above): “... for late one afternoon he saw from the roof (στέγους)²⁵ of his palace, *where he was accustomed to walk at that hour*,²⁶ a woman bathing in her house in cold water.²⁷ She was very beautiful (ἁλλίστην) to look upon and *surpassed all other women*”.²⁸

2 Sam. 11:3 depicts David sending to find about the woman he has just seen and his being informed of her name (‘Bathsheba’) as well as those of her father (‘Eliam’) and husband (‘Uriah the Hittite’). Josephus streamlines this presentation, appending to the above notice on the woman’s beauty, the brief editorial remark “her name was Beethsabē (Βεεθσαβή)”.²⁹

²¹ This collocation occurs once elsewhere in Josephus, *i.e.* in *Ant.* 12.284 (there in the plural).

²² The term ‘paternal, ancestral’ as a qualification of laws, institutions, practices, *etc.* is a Josephan key word; on it, see Schröder 1996.

²³ This phrase occurs only here in the Josephan corpus.

²⁴ The balanced assessment Josephus offers in the above remark — David was a basically upright man who, nonetheless, committed a ‘grave error’ — contrasts with attempts to minimize the problematic episode of David’s sin as related in 2 Sam. 11:2ff., elsewhere in Jewish tradition. Thus, *e.g.*, the Chronicler simply suppresses the whole episode in his account of David (see n. 11), while in *b. Sabb.* 56a R. Samuel b. Nahmani is quoted as declaring in R. Jonathan’s name that “whoever says that David sinned is merely erring.” By contrast, *Midr. Sam.* 25.2 goes beyond the Bible itself in charging David with a long series of blood crimes — whether actually committed or intended by him — including his murder of Uriah.

²⁵ This reading corresponds to that found in 2 Sam. 11:2. The codices SP have τέγους (‘wall’).

²⁶ 2 Sam. 11:2 speaks of David’s late afternoon “walking upon the roof.” Josephus’ formulation (“where he was accustomed to walk at that hour”) serves to explain why the king should be walking on the roof at this particular time of day.

²⁷ Josephus appends these details to the mention of the woman’s ‘bathing’ in 2 Sam. 11:2. *B. Sanh.* 107a elaborates the biblical reference in its own way: when Satan appeared to David in the form of a bird at the evening hour, the king shot an arrow at the apparition. The arrow pieced the screen behind which Bathsheba was washing her hair, thus exposing her to David’s gaze.

²⁸ This remark embellishes the notice of 11:2bβ which simply states that “the woman was very beautiful.”

²⁹ Compare MT 11:3 בַּת־שֶׁבַע (Eng.: Bathsheba); LXX Βηρσαββε, *etc.* In not mentioning the fact of Bathsheba’s being ‘the wife of Uriah’ as related in 11:3b at this point, Josephus leaves readers unfamiliar with the biblical story, and, it would appear, David himself unsure as to her marital status. Thus, whereas in the Bible David knows that he is committing adultery with Bathsheba, this is not clearly the case in Josephus’ version where it is only at the moment of Bathsheba’s announcing her pregnancy (see 7.131// 11:5) that the subject is broached.

Events unfold rapidly in 2 Sam. 11:4 where David sends messengers and takes Bathsheba who 'comes to' him;³⁰ he lies with her — this at a moment when she is "purifying herself from her uncleanness"³¹ — and Bathsheba returns home. Omitting the parenthetical biblical mentions of Bathsheba's 'purification' and her going home (11:4b), Josephus (7.130c) interjects a preparatory notice concerning the effect of David's 'vision' upon him: "*He was captivated by the beauty* (κάλλους; see καλλίστην, 7.130b) *of the woman and, as he was unable to restrain his desire* (ἐπιθυμίας), he sent for her and lay with her."

The account of David and Bathsheba's encounter terminates (11:5) with the laconic statement that the latter conceived and reported this fact to the king. Josephus' version (7.131a) expatiates on Bathsheba's report in which she highlights her predicament and explicitly asks for his intervention:³² "And when she became pregnant and sent to the king, *asking him to contrive some way of concealing her sin* (ἄρμυήματι)³³ — *for, according to the laws of the fathers* (κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας... νόμους),³⁴ *she was deserving of death as an adulteress...*"³⁵

3. David and Uriah

Prompted by Bathsheba's announcement (11:5), David instructs Joab to send him Uriah and Joab does so (11:6). The Josephan rendition (7.131b),

³⁰ Thus MT; in LXX BL it is David who 'goes into' Bathsheba. On the MT reading in 11:4a, see Alter 1999, p. 251.

³¹ On this parenthetical phrase of 11:4b, see McCarter 1984, p. 286 who argues that it is intended to signify that Bathsheba, now that her menstrual period has been completed, is at an optimal point for conceiving a child — as will happen immediately.

³² In appending an urgent appeal to Bathsheba's 'objective' report ("I am with child") of 11:5b, Josephus provides more of a motivation for the drastic measures to which David has recourse in what follows than does the Bible's own account.

³³ With this term Bathsheba acknowledges the wrongfulness of what she has just done. Her biblical counterpart limits herself to the 'objective,' 'neutral' announcement "I am with child" of 11:5b. Here, as often elsewhere, Josephus transposes into indirect the direct address speech of biblical characters; on the phenomenon, see Begg 1993, pp. 12–13, n. 38.

³⁴ This phrase echoes the qualification of David as one who "strictly observed the laws of his fathers (τοὺς πατέρας νόμους)" in 7.130. Such 'strict observance' would demand the death penalty for both him and his paramour.

³⁵ It is not clear whether the above conclusion to Bathsheba's report is to be understood as her own words to David or Josephus' editorial commentary upon her message. In any case, the allusion is to the biblical laws (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22) prescribing the death penalty for both parties involved in adultery (in *c. Ap.* 2.201 Josephus mentions only the man who has intercourse with a married woman being liable to this penalty). As pointed out in n. 29, Josephus does not reproduce the information given David in 11:3b about Bathsheba's status as wife of Uriah prior to their encounter. As a result, the reference to Bathsheba's being an 'adulteress' here in 7.131 comes as a surprise to the biblically uninitiated reader — and perhaps to David himself as well.

inter alia, omits the intermediary role of Joab: "... he summoned the woman's husband, whose name was Uriah³⁶ and who was also Joab's armour-bearer,³⁷ from the siege (ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας)".³⁸ Once Uriah arrives, David questions him about the 'welfare' (MT שלום) of Joab, 'the people,' and the war (11:7). Josephus (7.131c) reduces the king's threefold question to a double one: "... and when he [Uriah] appeared, [David] questioned him about the army and the siege...".³⁹ In MT LXX B 11:7, David's question(s) to Uriah remain(s) without an answer. In supplying him with an answer, Josephus (7.132a) aligns himself with the plus of LXX L at the end of 11:7 (καὶ εἶπεν Ὑγιαίνει; see too the VL manuscript L 115: "*et dixit Urias omnes rectae sunt*"): "When the man told him everything had gone as they wished...".

David next (11:8a) issues Uriah the cryptic instruction: "Go down to your house and wash your feet".⁴⁰ Thereafter, 11:8b informs us that Uriah did exit the palace, being following by something (or someone) "from the king" (see n. 41). The historian's rendition (7.132b) both rearranges the biblical sequence and clarifies the royal directive: "... he [David] took some portions of his supper (τοῦ δείπνου μέρος) and gave them to him⁴¹ with the command to go home *to his wife* and rest (ἀναπαύσασθαι) with her".⁴²

³⁶ Greek: Οὐρίας; MT אוריה (Eng.: Uriah); LXX B Οὐρίας; LXX L Οὐρίας. This is Josephus' first mention of 'Uriah' and his status as Bathsheba's husband; compare 11:3 and cf. n. 29.

³⁷ This qualification of Uriah has a counterpart in the plus of 4QSam^a 2 Sam. 11:3 where David is informed that Bathsheba is "the wife of Uriah the Hittite, *the armor-bearer of Joab*." Josephus invariably omits 2 Samuel 11's recurrent mentions of Uriah's ethnic status ('the Hittite'). In so doing, he makes no use of the Bible's ongoing ironic contrast between David the Israelite king who outrageously violates his nation's laws and the foreign Uriah who is a model of right conduct throughout; on the contrast, see Alter 1999, p. 250.

³⁸ This appended phrase harks back to the mention of Joab's 'laying siege' (ἐπολιόρκει) to Rabbah at the end of 7.129.

³⁹ Josephus' formulation of David's question of 11:7 omits the king's opening query about the 'welfare' of Joab (compare his non-mention of the intermediary role of Joab in Uriah's dispatch in his version of 11:6 in 7.131b). Josephus likewise makes more specific the terms used in David's second and third questions of 11:7, *i.e.* 'the people' (Josephus: the army) and 'the war' (Josephus: the siege; see 7.131b), respectively.

⁴⁰ Commentators generally take 'foot-washing' here as a euphemism for Uriah's having intercourse with his wife, the term 'feet' being regarded as an allusion to the male sexual organ, as is apparently the case in other biblical contexts as well (see, *e.g.*, Ruth 3:4,7; Ezek. 16:25). See, however, the comments of Alter 1999, p. 251.

⁴¹ In MT 11:8bβ the term used for that which follows Uriah from the king is מִשְׁנֵה (RSV: 'present'). LXX B has ἄρσις ('a raising, lifting'), while LXX L reads "those who stood around the king" (cf. VL *statores/protectores [regis]*). In specifying that what accompanied Uriah was a food item, Josephus agrees with Vg. (*cibus regius*) and Tg. ("the king's meal," סעודתא דמלכא). At the same time he has the king give the food to Uriah directly and prior to his issuing him his instructions, whereas in 11:8b the item in question is mentioned as a kind of afterthought, subsequent to Uriah's departure from the king's house.

⁴² From the sequence of 11:8 Josephus omits the notice of v. 8bα which reports Uriah's exiting the king's 'house' (thus MT LXX B; LXX L: 'presence').

2 Sam. 11:9 reports Uriah's non-compliance with David's instructions: he sleeps at the entrance of the palace, alongside the royal 'servants,' instead of going down to his own house. Once again, Josephus rearranges (7.132c) the source order: "Uriah, however, did not do so⁴³ but slept near the king⁴⁴ with the other armour-bearers".⁴⁵

Informed of Uriah's deed, David (11:10) asks him why he has acted thus, contrary to what one would expect of a returned traveler. Josephus' parallel (7.133a) expatiates on David's expression of surprise at Uriah's unusual behavior: "And, when the king learned of this, he inquired of him why he had not gone to his house⁴⁶ *after so long a period of absence, saying that this was the natural thing for men to do when they returned from abroad.*"⁴⁷

The biblical Uriah replies to David at length in 11:11. In his response he alludes to the current situation of the 'ark' and the forces accompanying it (v. 11a), asks rhetorically whether he himself should go home and enjoy himself there (v. 11bα), and swears that he will not do so (v. 11bβ). The historian notably shortens⁴⁸ Uriah's answer in 7.133b: "To this he replied that it was not right (δίκαιον)⁴⁹ to enjoy luxurious rest (ἀναπαύε-

⁴³ In citing this equivalent to 11:9b ("and [Uriah] did not go down to his house") in first place, prior to his mention of where it is Uriah does sleep (// 11:9a), Josephus highlights the act of disobedience involved. See further n. 50.

⁴⁴ Compare the more specific formulation of 11:9a concerning Uriah's sleeping place: "but Uriah slept at the door of the king's house (thus MT and LXX L; LXX B: at the door of the king)."

⁴⁵ Josephus' formulation recalls his designation of Uriah himself as Joab's 'armour-bearer' in 7.132; see n. 37. In 11:9a Uriah's fellow sleepers are called "all (> LXX B) the servants of his lord."

⁴⁶ In 11:10b this is David's second, concluding question to Uriah. Once again, Josephus rearranges the biblical sequence.

⁴⁷ Josephus transposes into a general statement about what is 'natural' for returned travelers David's (oblique) question to Uriah of 11:10bα: "have you not come from a journey?" Thereby, he spells out the implications of that question and its connection with the king's previous query as to why Uriah had not gone to his house.

⁴⁸ In particular he leaves aside Uriah's opening word in 11:11α: "the ark and Israel and Judah dwell in booths" [or: in Succoth, בִּסְכּוֹת; see Fokkelman 1981, p. 85; Alter 1999, p. 252]. This omission may reflect that the fact there has not been no mention of the ark's presence on the campaign in what precedes, just as a distinction has not previously been made between 'Israel' and 'Judah' as distinct components of the expeditionary force. Josephus likewise omits the oath ("as you live, and as your soul lives, I will not do this thing") with which Uriah concludes his response to David in 11:11bβ, doing so in accordance with his regular tendency to pass over the wording of biblical oaths, perhaps out of a concern to preclude any possible disrespect for the divine name.

⁴⁹ This adjective ironically echoes the reference to David's being by nature a 'righteous (δίκαιος) man' in 7.130. Whereas David was unable to sustain his normal righteousness in the face of his desire for Bathsheba (see 7.130), Uriah now shows himself resolved to refrain from doing what is not right(eous).

σθαί)⁵⁰ in the company of his wife,⁵¹ while his fellow-soldiers (συστρατιω-
τών)⁵² and his commander (στρατηγού)⁵³ were sleeping on the ground in
their camp *in enemy territory*.⁵⁴ In the Bible David responds (11:12a) to
Uriah's statements by telling him to remain for the current day, after which
he will let him go on the following day, and Uriah's doing as directed
(11:12b).⁵⁵ Josephus' version (7.134a) specifies to whom Uriah will be going
back, while omitting mention of the officer's compliance with the king's
directive: "*When he [Uriah] had so spoken, the king ordered him to remain
there that day, saying that he would send him back to the commander-in-
chief* (see 7.129 and cf. n. 53) on the morrow."

David's next move comes in 11:13 where he 'invites' Uriah whom he gets
drunk (v. 13a); in that condition Uriah sleeps among 'the servants of his
lord,' rather than going to his own house (v. 13b). Josephus (7.134b) both
elaborates and modifies this presentation: "So Uriah was invited *to supper*
(ἐπὶ δεῖπνον)⁵⁶ by the king and continued drinking until he was intoxicated,
as the king deliberately pledged his health in cup after cup.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, he

⁵⁰ This verb echoes David's injunction that Uriah "go home to his wife and rest
(ἀναπαύσασθαι) with her" in 7.132. The verbal echo underscores Uriah's conscious disobe-
dience to the royal command; see n. 43.

⁵¹ Compare 11:11b: "shall I then go to my house, to eat and drink, and to lie with my
wife?" In the sequence of 11:11 this question comes in the climatic position, after Uriah has
dwelt at length on the situation of his comrades in the field in 11:11a; see Alter 1999, p. 252.
Josephus reverses this sequence, having Uriah first invoke the inappropriateness of his dally-
ing with his wife at such a time.

⁵² Compare 11:11a: "the servants of my lord (Joab?, David?, Yhwh?)." Josephus reverses
the biblical order where Uriah mentions first Joab and then the troops.

⁵³ In 11:11a Uriah mentions Joab by name together with his title, 'my lord'; in 7.129 the
latter's title is 'commander-in-chief' (ἀρχιστρατηγός).

⁵⁴ Compare 11:11a where Uriah refers to Joab and the troops' "camping in the open
country." Josephus' appended allusion to "enemy territory" highlights the danger facing
Uriah's comrades which makes it all the more inappropriate for him to indulge himself in the
safety of his home — as David has urged him to do. In Rabbinic tradition (see *b. Qidd.* 43a;
b. Sabb. 56a) Uriah's response to David in 11:11 is seen as expressive of a rebellion against royal
authority which, as such, serves to exonerate the king for having Uriah killed. Josephus' pres-
entation features no such commentary on Uriah's answer that would mitigate the heinous-
ness of David's upcoming elimination of him.

⁵⁵ MT and LXX BL 2 Sam. 11:12b read "and Uriah remained in Jerusalem that day and the
next." In the VL MS L 115 the words "and the next day" are connected rather with David's
invitation to Uriah mentioned at the start of MT LXX 11:13. On the chronology of Uriah's
stay in Jerusalem according to 11:7–13, see Fokkelman 1981, p. 57.

⁵⁶ This phrase echoes the reference to the "portions of his supper (τοῦ δεῖπνου)" that
David gives to Uriah in 7.132.

⁵⁷ 2 Sam 11:13a states simply that "he ate in his presence and drank so that he [David]
made him [Uriah] drunk." Josephus' formulation spells out the procedure used by the king
for getting Uriah drunk, likewise underscoring the purposefulness with which he acts.

again slept before the king's door,⁵⁸ and felt no desire (ἐπιθυμίαν)⁵⁹ for his wife."⁶⁰

4. Uriah's Death

2 Sam. 11:14–17 (// 7.135–140) is the dramatic high point of the chapter, the story of David's successfully contriving Uriah's death. The new episode begins (11:14) on the following day when David entrusts a letter for Joab to the departing Uriah in which (v. 15) he gives instructions about what is to be done with the latter. Already at this juncture Josephus (7.135–136) begins the massive *Ausmalung* of the biblical presentation, which characterises his treatment of 11:14–17 as a whole:

(7.135) *In great displeasure* (δυσχερῆσας) *at this*,⁶¹ the king wrote to Joab, ordering him to punish Uriah, whom he made out to be a guilty (ἁμαρτεῖν) man;⁶² and, in order that he himself should not appear to have willed his punishment,⁶³ (7.136) which was to order Uriah to be stationed opposite the most formidable part of the enemy,⁶⁴ where if left to fight alone, he would be in the greatest danger (κινδυνεύσει⁶⁵);⁶⁶ he also ordered his comrades in arms

⁵⁸ 2 Sam. 11:13b is more elaborate: "and in the evening he [Uriah] went out to lie on his couch with the servants of his lord." In 7.132 Josephus had Uriah sleeping "near the king with the other armour-bearers"; here in 7.134 he makes delayed use of the reference to David's 'door' of 11:9a.

⁵⁹ With this term Josephus sets up an ironic verbal echo with 7.130, where David is "unable to restrain his desire (ἐπιθυμία)" for Bathsheba: the king was incapable of curbing his 'desire' for another man's wife, whereas that woman's husband himself has no difficulty doing this.

⁶⁰ This concluding notice on Uriah's non-desire for his wife takes the place of 11:13bβ ("he [Uriah] did not go down to his house") which itself reiterates the expression used of Uriah in 11:9b.

⁶¹ Josephus inserts this allusion to David's emotional reaction to Uriah's continuing 'non-cooperation' with his schemes.

⁶² David's directive to Joab in 11:15 makes no mention of the reason why Uriah is to be put in harm's way. Josephus supplies a (fictive) motivation for the royal order. The verbal form ἁμαρτεῖν in the above formulation ironically echoes Bathsheba's invocation of 'her sin' (ἁμαρτήματα) in 7.131: David acts to cover up his own and Bathsheba's actual 'sin' by falsely accusing Uriah of having 'sinned.' See further n. 97.

⁶³ Also this portion of David's directive is a Josephan invention; it serves to highlight the hypocrisy of David who is the instigator of Uriah's 'punishment,' but does not want others to know of this.

⁶⁴ Compare the opening words of David's directive in 11:15: "set [in MT the verb is in the plural; LXX BL read singular forms with Joab as implied subject] Uriah in the forefront of the hardest fighting."

⁶⁵ This is the conjecture of Niese which Marcus follows. Nodet reads κινδυνεύσειε with SP.

⁶⁶ This appended notice spells out the implications for Uriah of the 'placement' that David orders be assigned to him.

(συμπαράσταται)⁶⁷ to retire when the battle began.⁶⁸ When he had written this letter⁶⁹ and stamped it with his own seal,⁷⁰ he gave it to Uriah to carry to Joab.⁷¹

In line with David's directive (11:15), Joab, in the course of his 'guarding/besieging' the city, assigns Uriah to a position "where he knew there were valiant men" (11:16). Josephus, here too, markedly embellishes (7.137–138) the brief biblical notice on Joab's initiative, with, *e.g.*, mention of Joab's words to Uriah when assigning him his position, the latter's response to these, and the general's instructions to Uriah's companions. His expanded rendition of 11:16 reads thus:

(7.137) *On receiving the letter and learning the king's intention,*⁷² Joab stationed Uriah at the place where he knew the enemy had been most troublesome to himself,⁷³ and gave him some of the bravest men in the army.⁷⁴ He also said that he would come to his assistance with his whole force if they could throw

⁶⁷ This term is *hapax* in Josephus; compare συστρατιωτῶν in 7.133.

⁶⁸ Compare David's order in 11:15b₂: "then draw back [MT LXX BL plural; compare n. 64] from him." Josephus does not, as such, reproduce the king's closing words in 11:15b₂ ("that he [Uriah] may be struck down and die"). He does, however, make use of them in his own way at the start of his version of David's directive in 7.135 where the king calls for Uriah to be 'punished' as a 'guilty man' (see above). Cf. also David's acknowledgement in 7.136 that Uriah's 'placement' will entail the 'greatest danger' for him. Like the biblical king, then, Josephus' David makes clear to Joab that he wants Uriah dead.

⁶⁹ This transitional phrase resumes the reference to David's "writing to Joab" at the start of 7.135, following the extended citation of the content of the king's letter in 7.135–136a.

⁷⁰ This further, precautionary measure by David lacks a counterpart in the notice on the king's initiatives in 11:14. It serves to ensure that Uriah will not be able to read the letter he is carrying without this being detected. Josephus may have found inspiration for the item in another biblical episode involving the use of a royal letter to bring death on an innocent — albeit recalcitrant — person; see 1 Kgs. 21:8 where Jezebel "writes letters in Ahab's name and seals them with his seal" to the notables of Naboth's town, with directives about how they are to inflict death on Naboth.

⁷¹ Compare 11:14b: "(David) sent it [his letter for Joab] by the hand of Uriah." On the motif of a person as the unwitting bearer of his own death warrant in Greco-Roman literature, see Caquot and de Robert 1994, p. 473.

⁷² This transitional phrase takes the place of the opening words of 11:16: "as Joab was besieging the city." Josephus' formulation makes clear that Joab fully comprehended what David desired him to do with Uriah and acted accordingly — the wrongfulness of the royal directive notwithstanding. Thus whereas Uriah himself protests (see 7.133// 11:11) against the order about going to his wife given him by the king — whose intent he does not realize — Joab, the commander, who does know David's murderous intentions, makes no such protest, thereby showing himself to lack the courage of Uriah, the simple soldier.

⁷³ Compare 11:16b: "he assigned Uriah to the place where he knew there were valiant men." Josephus' wording highlights the threat posed by those to whom Joab deliberately exposes Uriah.

⁷⁴ This additional measure by Joab has no counterpart in 11:16. It is inspired by David's directive that there be a 'falling back' from the hard-pressed Uriah in 11:15b₂ (// 7.136b). The measure further serves to prepare the account of the withdrawal by Uriah's comrades that Josephus will give in 7.139.

down part of the wall and enter the city. (7.138) He therefore asked Uriah, as a good soldier and one who was esteemed by the king and by all his countrymen (ἑμοφύλοις)⁷⁵ for his bravery (ἀνδρείᾳ) to welcome his difficult task rather than object to it.⁷⁶ And when Uriah eagerly undertook the work,⁷⁷ Joab privately instructed the men who were stationed with him to desert him when they saw the enemy charge.⁷⁸

2 Sam. 11:17 summarily relates what happens once Uriah has been 'positioned': the city's inhabitants launch an attack in which some of David's forces, including Uriah, are killed. Here again, the Josephan version (7.139–140) is far more expansive:

(7.139) Now when the Hebrews⁷⁹ attacked the city,⁸⁰ the Ammanites, in their fear that the enemy might attack them by climbing up to the point where Uriah happened to be posted [see 7.137], put their bravest (ἀνδρειοτάτους)⁸¹ men in front and, suddenly opening the gates, rushed out upon the enemy with great violence and speed.⁸² (7.140) At the sight of them, the men with Uriah all retreated, as Joab had instructed them.⁸³ But Uriah, who was ashamed to flee and

⁷⁵ This term is used some 100 times by Josephus, virtually always in reference to the Jewish people.

⁷⁶ The above address by Joab to Uriah has no parallel in 2 Samuel 11. It likewise lacks a basis in the Josephan David's own directives to Joab regarding Uriah in 7.135–136. In speaking to Uriah in this way then the Josephan Joab exceeds his instructions, while at the same time revealing himself as someone who is ready to use lies and flattery to lead the unsuspecting Uriah to his death and who thereby completely identifies himself with David's criminal 'intention' (7.137). At the same time, even in his attempted misleading of Uriah, Joab is, in spite of himself, speaking the truth in praising him for his outstanding bravery — as the continuation of the story will show.

⁷⁷ This notice on Uriah's positive response to Joab's exhortation highlights the former's 'bravery,' but at the same his fatal credulity in the face of the latter's lies and flattery. Uriah's resistance to what David urges him to do (see 7.133–135) initiates the process that leads to his death; his failure to object to Joab's appeal to him serves to move that process towards its realization.

⁷⁸ This concluding "instruction" by Joab picks up on the directive given him by David in 7.136b and on the notice about Joab's providing Uriah with "some of the bravest men" in 7.137; see n. 74. It likewise highlights the duplicity of Joab who, having just promised (7.137) that he will come to Uriah's assistance, now enjoins the comrades he has given Uriah to abandon him once danger arises.

⁷⁹ On Josephus' uses of this designation for his people at the various moments of his history and in relation to other such designations ('Jews,' 'Israelites') used by him, see Harvey 1996, pp. 124–129.

⁸⁰ In the presentation of 11:17 the military initiative lies with the Ammonites. Josephus shifts this to the 'Hebrews,' thereby highlighting his people's fighting spirit.

⁸¹ This superlative adjectival form echoes the use of the noun ἀνδρεία to characterise Uriah in Joab's word to him in 7.138.

⁸² The above sequence is Josephus' elaboration of the summary notice of 11:17a: "And the men of the city came out and fought with Joab." In particular, it provides a motivation (fear of a surprise attack emanating from the point where Uriah had been stationed) for the Ammonites' sortie at this juncture.

⁸³ This addition to the battle account of 11:17 features the fulfillment of the directive given Joab by David in 7.136 about the abandonment of Uriah by his comrades and Joab's conveyal of this to Uriah's retinue in 7.138; see n. 76.

abandon his post;⁸⁴ remained to face the foe, and met their charge, slaying not a few⁸⁵; but finally, being surrounded on all sides, he was caught and killed,⁸⁶ and along with him there fell a few others from among his comrades.⁸⁷

5. Uriah's Death Reported

Joab's next move (11:18) is to send and inform David of what has happened; appended to the notice on his doing so is an extended citation (11:19–21) of the general's instructions to his 'messenger.' Josephus (7.141a) conflates elements of 11:18 and the beginning of Joab's directives of 11:19: "*After this had taken place,⁸⁸ Joab sent messengers⁸⁹ to the king instructing them to tell him that *he had made every effort to take the city quickly, but that, after an assault on the wall, he had lost many men and been forced to retire.*"⁹⁰*

⁸⁴ This inserted motivation for Uriah's not joining the general retreat confirms the truth of the word about his 'bravery' which Joab — albeit for deceptive purposes — had addressed to him in 7.138.

⁸⁵ 2 Sam. 11:17 says nothing about Ammonite casualties; Josephus' insertion on the matter makes clear that Uriah was not only a courageous soldier, but also a highly effective one — fighting alone, he kills "not a few" of his attackers.

⁸⁶ The sequence italicised above is Josephus' dramatisation of the jejune concluding words of 11:17: "Uriah the Hittite was slain also." Once again (see n. 37), Josephus avoids mentioning Uriah's ethnic status.

⁸⁷ Compare 11:17b2: "and some of the servants of David among the people fell (MT LXX B; LXX L: and some of the people fell according to the word of David)." Josephus' wording, with its reference to some of Uriah's 'comrades' falling with him, suggests that not all of those sent to accompany Uriah obeyed the order of Joab (and ultimately David himself) that they abandon Uriah to his fate. Such 'disobedience' does them credit, whereas Joab's obedience to David's criminal 'intention' puts him in a bad light. Also to be noted is Josephus' reversal of the sequence of 11:17b where the death of Uriah is mentioned as a kind of afterthought after that of some of 'David's servants.' In his presentation Uriah's death is cited in first place as the more significant event.

⁸⁸ Josephus supplies this transitional phrase.

⁸⁹ In 11:19 the reference is to a single 'messenger'; subsequently, Josephus will switch to the singular form as well (see 7.144–145).

⁹⁰ This report for David that Joab entrusts to the messengers expatiates on 11:18's summary allusion to Joab's sending to tell David "all the news about the fighting" as well as the phrase used by Joab in his opening word to the messenger ("when you have finished telling all the news about the fighting to the king...") of 11:19. The more detailed communication the Josephan Joab directs be given David here seems inspired by — while also varying the content of — 11:23–24a ("The men gained an advantage over us, and came back against us in the field; but we drove them back to the entrance of the gate. Then the archers shot at [so the *qere* and the versions] at your servants from the wall; some of the king's servants are dead [+ about eighteen men LXX L]), where, going beyond what he has been told to say by Joab, the messenger supplies David with various particulars about the battle. The account of the skirmish Joab gives the messengers for David here in 7.141, for its part, only partially corresponds to the course of events as narrated in 7.139–140: Joab lost not 'many,' but only a 'few' men in addition to Uriah himself (7.140b) and was not "forced to retire," but rather initiated the withdrawal himself (7.140a). Josephus' Joab lied to Uriah (see n. 76); now, he dispatches a misleading report to David as well, doing so for purposes of self-justification (given the loss of many men at the wall, he was 'forced' to retire).

Joab's instructions to his messenger continue in 11:20–21 where he addresses an eventuality that might arise, *i.e.* David's being 'angered' by the report made to him (v. 20aα) 'about the fighting' and what the messenger is to say (v. 21bβ)⁹¹ in response to the series of pointed questions (vv. 20aβ–21abα) Joab envisages the king asking in his irritation over what has happened. The historian (7.141b) reduces this sequence to its opening and closing elements, leaving aside the intervening questions Joab foresees David posing to the messenger(s):⁹² "they were, he said, to add to this, if they saw that the king was wrathful (ὁργιζόμενον),⁹³ the news of Uriah's death."⁹⁴

2 Sam. 11:22 (MT; LXX B) introduces the messenger's delivery of his report with mention of his coming to David and telling him "all that Joab had sent him to tell." In the LXX L (and VL) version of 11:22 there follows a long plus that notes the fulfillment of the scenario about David's anger and the response to be made to this envisaged by Joab in 11:20–21. Josephus' presentation at this point (7.142–143) evidences affinities with the plus of LXX L and VL, even as it expatiates considerably on this:

(7.142) *But when the king heard the messengers' report,*⁹⁵ he was greatly displeased (δυσφρόροιστος)⁹⁶ and said that the army had greatly blundered

⁹¹ Thus MT LXX B 11:21bβ. In LXX L (and VL) 11:21 this announcement is preceded by a long sequence parallel in content to the report about the details of the battle which the messenger gives David in 11:23–24a (MT LXX BL). Josephus has no equivalent to this plus, just as he passes over the whole series of questions Joab imagines David posing to the messenger in 11:20aβb–21abα.

⁹² Josephus' omission of these (imaginary) questions may have been inspired by considerations of verisimilitude: how could Joab possibly surmise in such detail what David would say in response to the messenger's report? (In fact, as Fokkelman 1981, pp. 67–68 points out, in the continuation of 2 Samuel 11 there is no mention of David's anger at the messenger's report nor of his posing the questions Joab expects him to raise with the result that the general's words to the messenger in 11:20–21 appear as a projection of his own fear and guilt.) Moreover, Josephus will subsequently (see 7.142), in line with the LXX L and VL plus in 11:22 (see above), have David actually pose the reproachful questions Joab imagines him asking in 11:20aβ–21abα. By leaving aside Joab's (implausible) surmise about David's posing those questions, he avoids a repetition of Joab's words to the messenger and David's words to him (such as one does find in LXX L and VL 11:20–21 and 22).

⁹³ Compare 11:20aα: "... then if the king's anger (LXX ὁ θυμός) rises..."

⁹⁴ Compare 11:21bβ: "then you shall say, 'Your servant Uriah the Hittite is dead also'."

⁹⁵ This transitional phrase takes the place of the notice common to all witnesses in 11:22: "So the messenger went, and came and told David all that Joab had sent him to tell."

⁹⁶ Compare the reference to David's "great displeasure" (δυσανυσχητέρας) at Uriah's recalcitrance in 7.135. The notice on David's emotional response to the messenger's report here in 7.142 corresponds to the opening words of the LXX (and VL) plus appended to 11:22 (MT LXX B): "And David burned with wrath [ἐθυμώθη ὁργῇ] against Joab."

(ἡμαρτεῖν)⁹⁷ in assaulting the wall,⁹⁸ *whereas they ought to have tried to take the city with mines and engines*⁹⁹ *especially as they had before them the example of Abimelech the son of Gedeon,*¹⁰⁰ *who in his attempt to take the town (πύργον)*¹⁰¹ *of Thebae (Θήβαις)*¹⁰² *by force, had been struck down by a rock (πέτρῳ)*¹⁰³ *by an old woman (πρεσβύτιδος)*¹⁰⁴ *and, in spite of his being so very brave (ἀνδριότατος),*¹⁰⁵ *had ignominiously (αἰσχρῶς)*¹⁰⁶ *perished because of his*

⁹⁷ Josephus' ironic usage of this word-stem continues. In 7.131 he used the cognate noun form in Bathsheba's allusion to her (and David's) actual 'sin.' Subsequently, he employed the same verbal form as here in 7.142 in 7.135 in David's reference to the innocent Uriah's being a 'guilty' man (see n. 62); now he has the malefactor David accuse yet another party, the Israelite army, of having 'sinned/blundered.' David acts to conceal his own sin by charging others with 'sins' that never would have happened had he refrained from sin himself.

⁹⁸ This phrase picks up on the allusion to "the assault on the wall" in Joab's instructions to the messengers in 7.141. The above reproachful assertion by David takes the place of the two questions the angered David poses in LXX L VL 11:22 (compare MT LXX BL 11:20): "Why did you go near the wall to fight? Did you not know that they would shoot from the wall?"

⁹⁹ This positive statement about how the city ought to have been attacked has no counterpart in David's reproaches to the messenger as cited in LXX L and VL 11:22 (compare MT LXX BL 11:20b–21a). It is likely inspired by Josephus' own experience of contemporary siege tactics. Also elsewhere the historian elaborates on/updates biblical allusions to siege practices; see, e.g., *Ant.* 7.220 (compare 2 Sam. 17:13 [Abishai's advice about dealing with the city in which David might take refuge]); 7.288 (compare 2 Sam. 20:15 [Joab's siege of Abel of Beth-maacah]); 10.131–134 (compare 2 Kgs. 25:1 [the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem]).

¹⁰⁰ The plus of LXX L 11:22 uses the alternative name of Abimelech's father, i.e. 'Jerubbaal' (Ἰερὸβαάμ), as found in the Book of Judges (see 6:32, etc.), which Josephus himself never mentions. LXX L employs that same name for Abimelech's father also in 11:21a where Joab envisages David alluding to Abimelech's fate (here MT calls the father 'Jerubbesheth' [ירבשת]), while in LXX B 11:21 (cf. VL 11:22) the reference is — very oddly — to "Jeroboam the son of Ner".

¹⁰¹ Marcus' rendering ('town') of Josephus' term is less precise than that of Nodet (*ad loc.*), i.e. 'la tour.' In Judg. 9:51–52 (as well as in *Ant.* 5.251), the passage to which David is alluding here, the reference, in fact, is to Abimelech's assault on the 'tower' inside the city of 'Thebez.'

¹⁰² LXX L 11:22 (and 11:21) call the site Θαμεισσις; in MT 11:21 the name is תבֿך (Eng.: Thebes), while LXX B 11:21 has Θαμασσί.

¹⁰³ The terminology used to designate the weapon employed against Abimelech in LXX L 11:22 is more precise, i.e. "a piece of a millstone" (κλάσμα μύλου). That same phrase appears also in LXX BL 11:21 (where MT has פֿלֶח רֶכֶב; RSV: "an upper millstone"). In his rendition of Judg. 9:53, the text to which David is referring in LXX L 11:22 (cf. MT LXX BL 11:21), in *Ant.* 5.251, Josephus adheres more closely to the Bible's wording ("an upper millstone" [MT]), "a piece of an upper millstone" [the LXX codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus]), calling the object "a fragment of a millstone" (θραύσσοματι μύλης).

¹⁰⁴ In LXX L 11:22 (cf. MT LXX BL 11:21) Abimelech's killer is simply called a 'woman,' just as she is in the referent-text Judg. 9:53 (and in Josephus' rendering of this in *Ant.* 5.252). Josephus' added specification here in 7.142 that the assailant was an 'old' woman only highlights the ignominy of Abimelech's death, a point he will further highlight in the continuation of David's words: the fatal blow comes from the weakest possible opponent — not just a woman, but an old woman.

¹⁰⁵ This characterisation of Abimelech has no counterpart in LXX L 11:22 (or in MT LXX BL 11:21). Its superlative adjectival form echoes the reference to the "bravest (ἀνδρειοτάτους) men" of the Ammonites in 7.139.

¹⁰⁶ This qualification of Abimelech's manner of death has no counterpart in LXX L 11:22 (or in MT LXX BL 11:21). It does, however, relate back to Josephus' specification that

*unfortunate method of attack.*¹⁰⁷ (7.143) And with this in mind they ought not to have approached the enemy's wall,¹⁰⁸ *for it was best to have in mind all things that had been tried in war, whether successfully or otherwise, under the same conditions of danger, in order to imitate the one and avoid the other.*¹⁰⁹

In 11:23–24a the messenger first informs David of the details of the recent battle,¹¹⁰ and then concludes (11:24b) with mention of Uriah's death. Josephus has already drawn on the first part of the biblical messenger's report in formulating Joab's directives to the messengers in 7.141a (see above). Accordingly, in now reporting the actual delivery of the message to David, he confines himself (7.144a) to reproducing the announcement of Uriah's death (see 11:24b), elaborating on this with allusions to David's state of mind before and after the announcement: "*But when, while he was in this humour,*"¹¹¹ he was further informed by the messenger¹¹² of Uriah's death,¹¹³ *he ceased being angry* (παύεταί... τῆς ὀργῆς)...".¹¹⁴

Informed of Uriah's death, David (11:25) sends the messenger back to Joab with words of re-assurance and exhortations for the renewal of the battle. The Josephan version (7.144b–145) expatiates on the king's instructions, likewise appending mention of the execution of these by the messenger:

Abimelech's demise was due to a particularly 'unworthy' opponent, an 'old' woman; see n. 104.

¹⁰⁷ In LXX L 11:22 (cf. MT LXX BL 11:21a) David's allusion to Abimelech's death is formulated as a double question: "Who killed Abimelech... Did not a woman cast an upper millstone from the wall so that he died at Thebez?" Josephus turns the king's questions into a statement by him, embellishing this with a variety of additional particulars, as pointed out in the preceding notes, *i.e.* the 'example' of Abimelech's fate, his attempt to take the tower by force, the woman's age, Abimelech's bravery, the shamefulness of his death, and his ill-conceived mode of attack.

¹⁰⁸ This assertion is Josephus' version of David's concluding question to the messenger in LXX L 11:22 (cf. MT LXX BL 11:21): "Why did you go near the wall?"

¹⁰⁹ Josephus, himself a general, has David draw this tactical maxim from the exemplary case of Abimelech's "unfortunate method of attack" (7.142). On Josephus' penchant for ascribing such maxims to biblical characters, see Feldman 1998, pp. 565–566.

¹¹⁰ The LXX L version of 11:24a (as also its rendition of 11:21) specifies that "about eighteen" of David's men had been killed. Like MT and LXX B, Josephus nowhere cites this casualty figure.

¹¹¹ This transitional phrase harks back to the notice on David's being "greatly displeased" by the messengers' report in 7.142.

¹¹² In what precedes Josephus has referred to 'messengers' (see 7.141, 142 and cf. n. 89). Here, he unexpectedly switches to the singular form used throughout the Bible's account.

¹¹³ Compare 11:24b: "and your servant Uriah the Hittite is dead also."

¹¹⁴ Cf. Joab's allusion to the possibility of David's becoming 'wrathful' (ὀργιζέμενον) in 7.141 and the editorial notice on the king's being 'greatly displeased' in 7.142. David's emotions take a new turn here in 7.144.

(7.144b)... (David) ordered him to go back and tell Joab¹¹⁵ *that what had happened was human destiny* (ἀνθρώπινη μοίρα... τὸ συμβεβηκός),¹¹⁶ and such was the nature of war that now one of the opposing sides happened to be successful therein, and now the other;¹¹⁷ (7.145) *for the future, however, they should look to the siege and avoid meeting another reverse in the course of it.*¹¹⁸ They should rather besiege the city *with mounds and engines* [see 7.142: “with mines and engines”], *and after forcing it to surrender, raze it to the ground and destroy all those in it.*¹¹⁹ *So the messenger* [see 7.144 and cf. n. 112] *hastened to carry back to Joab the commands of the king.*...¹²⁰

6. Marriage and Birth

The story of David’s ‘fall’ reaches a (provisional) conclusion in 2 Sam. 11:26–27abx, where following Bathsheba’s mourning for her husband (v. 26–27aα), David marries her (v. 27aβ) and she bears him a son (v. 27bα). Josephus (7.146) reproduces this sequence without significant change: “... while *Beethsabē*, the wife of Uriah, learning of her husband’s death,

¹¹⁵ Compare 11:25aγ: “David said to the messenger, ‘Thus shall you say to Joab...’” Josephus, in line with his regular practice, rewords the biblical “messenger formula.”

¹¹⁶ The above phrase occurs only here in Josephus. Its Hellenistic-sounding allusion to the operation of ‘fate’ takes the place of the assurance for Joab with which David’s words in 11:25aβ open: “do not let this matter trouble you.” Josephus’ replacement formulation has David underscore the unavoidability of what has occurred — hypocritically, of course, in that everything which has befallen the other, innocent parties could well have been ‘avoided’ if only David himself had refrained from sin. On Josephus’ various terms for ‘fate’ and their background in Greek philosophy, see Feldman 1998a, pp. 194–197.

¹¹⁷ This portion of the Josephan David’s speech is a prosaic elaboration of the king’s figurative words in 11:25aγ: “... for the sword devours now one and now another.”

¹¹⁸ This initial exhortation concerning the siege, with its ‘negative’ warning to Joab about allowing himself to be defeated again, has no counterpart in David’s words as cited in 11:25.

¹¹⁹ The instructions Josephus has David give the messenger for Joab are more expansive and specific than those attributed to the king in 11:25bα (“strengthen your attack upon the city, and overthrow it”). They spell out, *e.g.*, how Joab is to capture the city — a point the king has already touched on in 7.142 with words, which, like those of 7.145, likely reflect Josephus’ personal knowledge of contemporary siege practices; see n. 99) — and what is to be done with the city once it is captured, *i.e.* it is to be ‘razed’ and all its inhabitants ‘destroyed’ (Josephus may have found inspiration for these appended directives in the account of Judges 9, from which he, like 2 Samuel 11 itself, has already drawn in what precedes; see Judg. 9.45 [// *Ant.* 5.248a] where, after capturing Shechem, Abimelech kills its people and razes the city.) Finally, like LXX L, Josephus has no equivalent to David’s concluding command to the messenger regarding Joab of MT LXX B 11:25 (“and encourage him”).

¹²⁰ With this notice Josephus fills a ‘gap’ in the biblical presentation which does not relate the messenger’s execution of David’s instructions to him of 11:25. His explicit mention of the messenger’s ‘obedience’ to David’s directives serves to align that figure with the complicit Joab, while putting both these personages in contrast with Uriah who persists in ‘disobeying’ the king’s orders; see n. 72.

mourned for him *for many days*.¹²¹ But, as soon as she had ceased grieving and weeping (παυσαμένην... τῆς λύπης καὶ τῶν... δακρύων)¹²² for Uriah, the king took her to wife,¹²³ and had by her a son."

Conclusion

Having completed my detailed comparison of *Ant.* 7.129b–146 and 2 Samuel 11, I shall attempt to summarise my findings regarding the three overarching questions about the former passage with which I began.

My first opening question concerned the text-critical affinities of Josephus' rendition. Only occasionally, in fact, did my study identify instances where Josephus clearly aligns himself with the distinctive reading of a given witness to the text of 2 Samuel 11. Among these, the following cases were particularly noteworthy. Like 4QSam^a 11:3, he qualifies (7.131) Uriah as Joab's 'armour-bearer.' His indication that what came to Uriah from David was a food item corresponds to the specification of Tg. and Vg. 11:8b on the matter (see n. 41). However, it is with the distinctive readings of LXX L 2 Samuel 11 that the historian evidences the most communalities in 7.129b–146. Thus, in agreement with LXX L 11:7 he supplies (7.132) Uriah with an answer to David's questions, just as he has a parallel (see 7.142–143) to the plus of LXX L (and VL) 11:22 concerning David's angry response to the messenger's delivery of his report and the reproachful questions the king goes on to address to him. Like LXX L as well, he lacks an equivalent to the king's concluding admonition ("and encourage him [Joab]") to the messenger of MT LXX B 11:25. These findings suggest that the (primary) text of 2 Samuel 11 Josephus had available to him was one having particular affinities with that of LXX L.¹²⁴

¹²¹ 2 Sam. 11:26 does not specify the duration of Bathsheba's 'mourning.' Josephus' remark on the matter indicates that a 'decent interval' elapsed between the death of Bathsheba's husband and her new marriage. At the same time, he preserves the irony of the biblical verse where the widow — and soon to be wife of David — Bathsheba is twice characterised in terms of her spousal relationship to Uriah whom she betrayed.

¹²² This phrase finds a verbal echo in the near context of 7.146; see 7.153, which refers to David's "tears of grief" (δακρύων καὶ λύπης) when confronted by Nathan regarding his sin. The phrase likewise echoes the expression "ceased being angry" (παύεται... τῆς ὀργῆς) used of David in 7.144. Thus by the end of the story, both malefactors, David and Bathsheba, have contrived to put their negative emotions over what has happened behind them. Their doing so contrasts with the divine disfavor towards the marriage and God's 'anger' towards David of which Josephus will speak immediately afterwards; see 7.147 (// 2 Sam. 11:27bβ).

¹²³ Here Josephus compresses the sequence of 11:27aβ ("... David sent and brought her [Bathsheba] to his house, and she became his wife"), confining himself to the decisive point, the marriage.

¹²⁴ For more on the text(s) of Samuel used by Josephus, see Ulrich 1989. (He concludes that Josephus depends, in first place, on a LXX L-like text, attested now by the Qumran finds as well, for his version of the Books of Samuel as a whole.)

In my second opening question, I asked about the rewriting techniques applied by Josephus to the data of 2 Samuel 11 and the distinctiveness of his account of David's 'fall' that results from their application. Among the techniques in question, additions to and amplifications of the biblical presentation are especially prominent. Examples include the following: the prefatory remark about David's righteousness and his sin in 7.130a, the elaboration of Bathsheba's words to David in 7.131a (compare 11:5), the expansion of David's letter to Joab (7.135–136; compare 11:15), the embellishment of the biblical account of Uriah's death (11:16–17) in 7.137–140 and of David's response to the messenger (7.142–145b; compare 11:22–24, LXX L), and the appended notice on the messenger's return to Joab (7.145c). On the other hand, Josephus also allows himself a variety of omissions and abbreviations of source data in our pericope: David's 'inquiry' about the woman (11:3), the circumstances surrounding their misdeed (11:4), Uriah's mention of the 'booths' (or 'Succoth') where the ark as well as 'Israel and Judah' are currently housed, and his oath not to do what David is urging (11:11), and especially Joab's detailed surmise about how David will respond to the messengers' report (compare 11:20–21ab α). The historian also rearranges the sequence of his *Vorlage*. Thus, *e.g.*, he reverses the order of 11:8 (David's directive to Uriah and the mention of someone/something from the king following the latter; see 7.131); 11:10 (David's double question to Uriah; see 7.133a); and 11:11 (Uriah's response to this; see 7.133b). Similarly, he mentions Uriah's death before those of his comrades (7.140; compare 11:17) and anticipates the messenger's report about the course of the battle, at the same time making this part of Joab's instructions to the messenger (7.141a; compare 11:23–24a).

In addition to the above rewriting techniques, Josephus modifies/adapts the Bible's account in still other ways. On the terminological-stylistic level, he repeatedly replaces direct with indirect discourse (see n. 33). Characters' questions are turned into statements by them (compare 7.133 and 11:11b α ; 7.142–143 and LXX L 11:22 [*cf.* 11:20b–21ab α MT LXX BL]). The wording of oaths are avoided (compare 11:11b β and 7.133; see n. 48) and 'the messenger formula' reformulated (compare 11:25a α and 7.144; see n. 115). In the same line, prosaic substitutes replace biblical figurative language (see 11:8 [Uriah's "washing his feet"] and 7.132; 11:25 [the sword's "devouring now one and now the other"] and 7.144). Conversely, the historian introduces his own distinctive *Leitwörter* and word-plays; see, *e.g.*, the 'desire' ($\epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\iota\alpha$) which David feels for Bathsheba (7.130), but which Uriah himself does not (7.134) and the uses of the $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau$ -stem in 7.131, 135, 142.

Contentual modifications occur as well: In several instances, Josephus' rendering of 11:1 in 7.129b reflects the influence of the peculiar readings of

the parallel account of 1 Chr 20:1 (Joab is dispatched by David, instead of setting out on his own [see n. 15] and ravages the Ammonite country — rather than the Ammonites themselves [see n. 18]). The 'Hebrews,' instead of the Ammonites, commence hostilities at the city walls (compare 7.139 and 11:17). Initially, at least, there is mention, not of a single messenger, but of several messengers dispatched by Joab to David (compare 7.141–142 and 11:19; see, however, 7.144–145).

Given Josephus' application of the above re-writing techniques, what then is distinctive about his version of 2 Samuel 11? 'Gaps' left in the biblical story are filled: How did David contrive to get Uriah drunk (compare 7.134 and 11:13)?, and how did he ensure that Uriah would not read the letter he was carrying (compare 7.136 and 11:14)? What prompted the Ammonite sortie (compare 7.139 and 11:17)? Were David's instructions to Joab's messenger in fact carried out (compare 7.145 and 11:25)? On the other hand, Josephus also, on occasion, streamlines the source narration, *e.g.*, eliminating David's preliminary inquiry about the identity of the woman he has seen (11:3) and the intermediary role of Joab in the king's summoning of Uriah (11:6). Likewise, even while following the LXX L plus of 11:22 in 7.142–143, he takes care to avoid the duplication one finds in this witness between its 11:22 on the one hand and the content of 11:20–21abx that it shares with MT and LXX B on the other.

Overall, Josephus enhances the story's psychological dimensions, with, *e.g.*, his interjected references to characters' emotional states (see David's inability to restrain his 'desire' [7.130], 'great displeasure' at Uriah's failure to follow his orders [7.135], and the cessation of his anger when informed of Uriah's death [7.144], as well as Uriah's being 'ashamed' to abandon his post [7.140]). Also, and to an even greater extent, he amplifies the military aspects of the story; see, *e.g.*, his greatly expanded rendition of the summary battle account of 11:17 in 7.137–140 and of David's 'professional' commentary upon the report made him about this (11:22 LXX L) in 7.142–145 with its allusion to the methods that should be used in attacking a city (7.142,145) and the tactical lesson it draws from Abimelech's unfortunate experience (7.143).

Each of the four named characters in 2 Samuel 11 likewise undergoes retouchings in Josephus' portrayals of them. Bathsheba's beauty is highlighted (7.130; compare 11:2), her word to David expanded with an acknowledgement of her 'sin' and appeal for the king to take measures to protect her (7.131; compare 11:5), and the extended period of her mourning for her husband noted (7.146; compare 11:26). In comparison with 11:17, Josephus accentuates the heroism of Uriah's death: he is 'eager' to under-

take the difficult mission assigned him (7.138b), and 'ashamed' to abandon his post, just as he succumbs only after himself killing 'not a few' of the enemy (7.140), thereby proving himself worthy of the accolades for 'bravery' heaped on him by Joab (7.138). Joab himself is depicted by Josephus as more fully conscious of David's reprobate 'intention' regarding Uriah (see 7.137a) and ready to use lies and flattery to further the realisation of that intention (see 7.137b–138a), just as he is not hesitant to dispatch self-justifying misrepresentations about the course of the battle to David himself (see 7.141 and *cf.* n. 90).¹²⁵ Finally, the portrait of the story's central character, King David, is also 'touched up' by Josephus. Right at the start, he underscores the contrast between David's 'righteous and godfearing' nature and the 'grave error' into which he is about to fall (7.130a). Bathsheba's beauty provokes the king's irresistible 'desire' (7.130c). In his communication with Joab he brazenly designates the irreproachable Uriah as a 'guilty man,' even while endeavoring to keep his own involvement in Uriah's elimination concealed (7.135; compare 11:15). Responding to Joab's messenger, he assumes, with evident satisfaction, the role of a military expert with all kinds of good advice to dispense (compare 7.141–145 and 11:22 [LXX L], 25).¹²⁶

My third and final opening question concerned Josephus' handling of David's 'fall' *vis-à-vis* the treatment of this embarrassing episode elsewhere in Jewish tradition. The historian makes clear his own view on the happening with the prefatory remark he inserts at the opening of 7.130. In that remark, he avers on the one hand that the king's subsequent actions were quite out of character for him, while on the other, he qualifies them as a 'grave error.' In thus forthrightly acknowledging the reality and seriousness of David's offense,¹²⁷ Josephus, as pointed out in nn. 24 and 54, distinguishes himself from other strands in both biblical and rabbinic/midrashic tradition. The Chronicler (see n. 11) simply passes over the whole incident told in 2 Samuel 11 so as not to detract from the image of David (and his family life) he wishes to present. Similarly, various rabbinic *dicta* [see, *e.g.*, *b. Sabb.* 56a; *S. Eli. Rab.* 2 (p. 8)]¹²⁸ roundly aver that the king's conduct as

¹²⁵ On Josephus' (largely negative) portrait of Joab overall, see Feldman 1998, pp. 203–214.

¹²⁶ On the Josephan David overall, see Feldman 1998a, pp. 537–569. According to Feldman, whereas Josephus' portrayal of David is basically positive, he is also concerned not to unduly magnify the qualities and standing of this ancestor of the Messiah, in order not to offend Roman sensibilities about contemporary Jewish messianism.

¹²⁷ Josephus' reproduction (and even enhancement) of the sordid details of David's conduct as related in 2 Samuel 11 is all the more noteworthy given the fact that elsewhere the historian does not hesitate to completely suppress biblical incidents that place his people in an unflattering light, *e.g.*, the making of the Golden Calf (Exodus 32) or Micah's idol and its adoption by the tribe of Dan (Judges 17–18).

¹²⁸ See also *b. B. Bat.* 17a. where there is mention of the opinion of some who reckon David among those, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, over whom the 'evil impulse' had no power — an opinion for which the events reported in 2 Samuel 11 pose obvious difficulties.

recorded in 2 Samuel 11 involved no sin on his part. More often, however, in rabbinic/midrashic tradition, one finds attempts to downplay the full gravity of what are recognised as problematic actions by David: Uriah's insolence justified David's sending him to his death (see n. 54); Uriah, in accord with the standard military practice of the time, had already divorced his wife before setting out to war, thus making her 'available' to David (see, e.g., *b. Shab.* 56a; *b. Ketub.* 9b); it was at David's own request that God tempted him (*b. Sanh.* 107a; *Midr. Pss.* 17.7; 18.2); God knew that if he [David] had so wished, he could have resisted the temptation (*b. Sanh.* 107a); Bathsheba had been divinely predestined for David since the six days of creation (*ibid.*), etc.¹²⁹ Significantly, Josephus' own presentation evidences no parallels to these exculpatory moves by the Rabbis; unlike them, he does not attempt to mitigate the wrongfulness of David's actions (even while insisting that were 'out of character' for the king).

2 Samuel 11 and its presentation of the good King David behaving very badly is a difficult biblical passage. Among the various ways of dealing with the passage attested in Jewish tradition, Josephus' rendition in *Ant.* 7.129b–146 stands out as a distinctive and noteworthy approach to the problems raised by it. Here, at least, the historian makes good on his opening promise (see *Ant.* 1.17) not to 'omit anything' of the Scriptural record in his own retelling — however, problematic that record might prove to be.

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¹²⁹ On this material, see Ginzberg 1968, vol. 4, pp. 103–104; vol. 6, pp. 264–265, nn. 90–91. See also Feldman 1998a, pp. 557–558.

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The Emperor Julian's Order to Rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem: A Connection with Oracles?¹

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Abstract

*By analyzing pagan and Christian sources from the Later Roman Empire, this study concludes that the emperor Julian was motivated by oracles, a good number possessing anti-Christian content, during the critical winter of 362–363 just before his Persian campaign, to develop an increasingly hostile programme against Christianity, and his reason for ordering the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem is best understood in this context. A new hypothesis is developed, which posits that Julian was inspired by the anti-Christian works of Porphyry of Tyre (e.g., Contra Christianos, Philosophia ex oraculis) to plan the destruction of the Church and to rebuild the Temple according to Neoplatonic interpretations of an oracle inspired by Porphyry which predicted the demise of Christianity 365 years after its inception.**

The emperor Julian's order to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem is one of the most perplexing and significant events in the history of the Later Roman Empire.² Owing to the tenuous data available, only hypotheses have

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¹ Unless otherwise indicated, translations from ancient languages are my own.

² Cf. among others in the following notes: Campbell 1900, pp. 291–306; Ensslin 1923, pp. 104–99; Vogt 1939; Braun and Richer 1978; Aziza 1978, pp. 141–58; Bernardi 1978, pp. 89–

been developed, which attempt to give reasonable explanations for the emperor's motives, viz., to: (1) reform traditional paganism;³ (2) form an anti-Christian alliance with the Jews;⁴ (3) restore animal sacrifices by incorporating Yahwism into a revived Hellenism;⁵ (4) disprove the prophecies of Jesus about the Temple (Mt. 24:2; Mk. 13:2; and Lk. 19:44);⁶ (5) ensure that the Persian campaign would be victorious by winning the support of the Jews;⁷ (6) memorialize his reign with magnificent buildings;⁸ (7) gain economic support from the Jews in the eastern Mediterranean;⁹ and (8) stop the Christianization of Jerusalem initiated by Constantine.¹⁰ Although all of these are both reasonable and admirable, and often are not mutually exclusive, none takes into account one of the most obvious features of Julian's religious philosophy, a keen interest and fanatical belief in oracles and how they might have influenced his imperial policies. This study will attempt to clarify some of the important questions concerning the possible inter-relationship between Julian's belief in, and his attempt to revive, oracles; his order to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem; and an increasingly anti-Christian posture that he was assuming immediately before the Persian cam-

98; Phillips 1979, pp. 167–72; O'Donnell 1979, pp. 45–88; Blanchetière 1980, pp. 61–81; Bernardi 1983; Wilken 1983; Demandt 1989; Levenson 1990, pp. 261–79; Penella 1993, pp. 71–5; *Id.* 1993, pp. 31–43; Barnes 1998, p. 48; Penella 1999, pp. 15–31; and Simmons 2000, 2, pp. 1251–1272.

³ *Cf.* Athanassiadi 1992, p. 1164; Drijvers 1992, pp. 19–26; Brood 1995, pp. 32–38, esp. p. 36.

⁴ *Cf.* Adler 1893, pp. 591–651; Gardner 1895, p. 264; Ensslin 1923, p. 190; Bidez 1930, p. 305; Head 1976, p. 146, going too far by describing Julian as an example of fourth cent. Zionism; Fouquet 1981, pp. 192–202, esp. p. 201; Wilken 1983, p. 144; Avi-Yonah, 1984, p. 190; Stemberger 1987, p. 165; Lieu 1989, p. 104; Campbell 1900, p. 298; and Athanassiadi 1992, p. 164.

⁵ Already expressed by J. Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.11.8; *Cf.* Simon, 1948, p. 148; Head 1976, p. 146; Bowersock, 1978, p. 89; Blanchetière 1980, pp. 72 f.; Lewy 1983, pp. 70–96, esp. p. 78; Wilken 1984, p. 189; *Id.* 1983, p. 144; Lieu 1989, p. 104; Brodd 1995, p. 38; Cansdale 1996–97, pp. 18–29, esp. 26 ff; and Penella 1999, p. 24.

⁶ Used often in conjunction with the Book of Daniel. *Cf.* J. Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.11.8; Sozomen, *HE* 5.22; Theodoret, *HE* 3.15; Socrates, *HE* 3.20, giving a prophecy of Cyril of Jerusalem based on Jesus and Daniel; Allard 1903, 3, p. 134; Bidez 1930, p. 305; Vogt 1939, p. 46; Ricciotti 1960, p. 224; Avi-Yonah 1976; Browning 1976, p. 176; Aziza 1978, p. 152; Bowder 1978, p. 111; Bowersock 1978, p. 89; Geffcken 1978, p. 154; Blanchetière 1980, pp. 76 f.; Lewy 1983, p. 72; Wilken 1983, p. 141; *Id.* 1984, p. 189; Lieu 1989, p. 104; Cameron 1993, p. 97; Potter 1994, p. 171; Smith 1995, pp. 7 and 217; Penella 1999, p. 24; Potter 2004, p. 514.

⁷ *Cf.* Avi-Yonah 1976, pp. 192 f.; Cansdale 1996–97, pp. 26–8.

⁸ Avi-Yonah 1976, pp. 192 f., following Ammianus Marcellinus 23.1.2. It is interesting that Josephus, *Jew. Ant.* 15.380–1, gives similar reasons for Herod's rebuilding program.

⁹ Cansdale 1996–97, pp. 26–8.

¹⁰ *Cf.* Vogt 1939, p. 49; Wilken 1983, p. 143; Feldman 1993, p. 404; On Julian and the Christians in general see (*e.g.*): Bidez 1914, pp. 406–61; Braun 1978, pp. 166–75; Dupont 1979, pp. 197–216; Scicolone 1979, pp. 420–34; Hunt 1985, pp. 186–200; Drijvers 1992, p. 22; Smith 1995; Penella 1999, p. 24.

paign. I hope to show indisputably that oracles motivated Julian's policies more significantly than has been thought and to offer yet another hypothesis related to his order to rebuild the Temple.

I. Ammianus Marcellinus and Julian on the Temple Project

We begin with the only pagan text related to Julian's order to rebuild the Temple:

... diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique sui memoriam, magnitudine eorum gestiens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina, obsidente Vespasiano, posteaque Tito, aegre est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis, negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi qui olim Britannias curaverat pro praefectis. (Amm. Marc. XXIII.1.2)¹¹

What Ammianus omits here is noteworthy. The fact that there is no association between the rebuilding and Julian's religious policies merits serious attention because the Roman historian is usually careful when covering Julian to note the emperor's excessive superstition and the relation between portents, omens, and imperial policies.¹² Apparently Ammianus deliberately ignores the religious interpretation of the event, preferring to give an exclusively secular explanation; Julian wanted to memorialise his reign by great public works.¹³ Yet his presentation of the Temple project as one of a number of unfavorable omens' which climaxed with the failure of the Persian campaign can perhaps be best understood as a negative assessment of the overall religious nature of the emperor's actions during the last months of his life.¹⁴ Also, the nature of the literary evidence must be critically evaluated on an individual basis: Jewish sources are completely silent,¹⁵ only one

¹¹ I use here Rolfe 2000: "...and eager to extend the memory of his reign by great works, he planned at vast cost to restore the once splendid temple at Jerusalem, which after many mortal combats during the siege by Vespasian and later by Titus, had barely been stormed. He had entrusted the speedy performance of this work to Alypius of Antioch, who had once been vice-prefect of Britain." Seaver 1978, pp. 273–84, argues that Ammianus and the Christian writers substantially agree about the rebuilding attempt, so we should accept it as historical.

¹² E.g., Amm. Marc., XXI.1.7–14; XXII.12.6–8; XXII.14.3.

¹³ On attempted explanations of the omissions, see Philips 1979, p. 168; Hunt 1985, p. 194; Matthews 1989, pp. 110–12; and Barnes 1998, p. 48.

¹⁴ Cf. Philips in Achetemeier 1979, pp. 168, 170; Penella 1999, p. 18.

¹⁵ Perhaps Adler 1893, p. 625, gives the best explanation for the silence: Julian's failure to rebuild the Temple caused the Jews to omit all references to the event. See also Bacher 1897–98, pp. 168–72: the Jews rejected the plan; Avi-Yonah 1976, p. 197 (a neutral attitude from most Jewish leaders); Bowersock 1978, p. 90 (Palestinian Rabbis were hesitant); Seaver 1978, p. 276 (bitterness over the failure); Lewy 1983, p. 71 (Julian had no contacts with Jewish sages

pagan historian mentions it, and Christian writers who do mention it are not, with the exception of Gregory of Nazianzus and Ephrem, contemporaneous with Julian's reign.

From July 362 to March 363 Julian was in Antioch, and he died 26 June 363 during the Persian campaign. Within this period three important pieces of literary evidence related to the rebuilding project were purportedly writ-

in Israel); cf. Barnes 1992, p. 47, n. 15, for analysis of Talmudic data. There have been attempts to bring forth evidence from Jewish sources: (1) a reddish-brown (Jasper) portrait with a mutilated inscription found in Jerusalem in 1938, 1.7 cm. in size depicting a bearded man wearing the *paludamentum*, denoting very high rank. It has been suggested that this represents Julian and was made for the celebrations initiating the rebuilding project: cf. Jonas, 1971, pp. 8–12; Blanchetière 1980, p. 69, n. 29, accepts the gem as a genuine portrait of Julian; (2) lines 1–7 of a Latin limestone inscription of Julian's reign found at Ma'ayan Barukh in the upper Jordan valley, on half a column 105 cm. long, 50 cm. wide, a diameter of 30 cm. and the letters 50–90 mm high, discovered in the summer of 1969 by settlers of the Kibbutz: R(O)MANI ORBIS LIBERAT(ORI) TEMPLORVM (RE)STAVRATORI CVR (IA)RVMT ET REI PVBLICAE RECREATORI BARBARORVM EXTINGTORI D(OMINO) N(OSTRO) IOVLIANO, on which see Negev 1969, pp. 170–3; Bowersock 1978, Appendix II, pp. 122 f., concluded that the reference to *barbari* allows for a date c. April or May 363; Negev 1969, p. 173, says the inscription may refer to the temple at Caesarea Philippi, c. 9 km. from Ma'ayan Barukh; Arce 1975 believes it concerns the Jewish temple; cf. Cansdale 1996–97, p. 22; if so, the TEMPLORVM in the plural refers to the numerous temples built in Palestine during the period, on which see Negev 1969, pp. 171 f.; (3) the remark in Theod., HE 3.15 that the workers in Jerusalem used silver baskets at the rebuilding site may be accurate since according to biblical injunctions iron tools were not to be used in the work on the Temple (Dt. 27:5; I Kgs. 6:7); the Mishna (Kodashim, Middoth 3.4 [Danby 1933, p. 594, n. 8] states the use of iron renders the stones of the altar invalid even by a touch; see also Avi-Yonah 1976, p. 199; and Cansdale 1996–97, p. 20; (4) Talmudic evidence reveals that the fourth cent. Rabbis taught that the Temple rebuilding would coincide with the coming of the Messiah (Neusner 1993; R. Aha, a prominent teacher of the Hagada from Lydda and a contemporary of Julian, taught that the rebuilding would precede the restoration of David's Kingdom (Talmud Yerushalmi, Maaser Sheni 5.2), basing this on Dt. 32.14; Bacher 1897–98, p. 169, believed this related to Julian's rebuilding project; we may assume there was jubilation among Palestinian Jews after Julian's order; (5) R. Aha also taught that Israel would be saved in a sabbatical year (Berakot 2.3–4d), and Avi-Yonah 1976 calculated that the year AD 363, which was the year 4122 of the Jewish era, corresponds to a sabbatical year; (6) Liberman 1945–46, pp. 239–53, esp. p. 252, interprets the controversial text in Midrash, Qohelet Rabba IX.10, "Blessed is He who removed the shame of Lulianus," as an expression of Jewish discouragement and anger about Julian's failure to rebuild the Temple; (7) Mazar 1971, pp. 1–36, suggests the Hebrew inscription (Isaiah 66:1: **וראמקם וש לבבם ועצמוקם בדשא**; "And when you see this, your heart shall rejoice and their bones [flourish] like new grass.") carved on one of the ashlar's of the fifteenth course of the Herodian Temple's western wall beneath Robinson's Arch and located in a hallowed area, should be dated during Julian's reign and may have been written to express the joy of the Jews who came to Jerusalem for the rebuilding; and this text was chosen by the Rabbis as a prophetic application to the Temple restoration; cf. Cansdale 1996–97, p. 21, for epigraphic evidence allowing for a fourth cent. date; those who agree with Mazar are Brock 1977, p. 279, n. 52; Lewy 1983, p. 71; Lieu 1989, p. 104; and Brodd 1995, p. 35. On the Jews and Jul. see also Bacher 1897–98, pp. 168–72; Libermann, 1939–44, pp. 412–16; Urbach 1961, pp. 372–74; Aziza 1978, p. 156; Philips 1979, p. 171; Levenson 1990, p. 261, n.1; Feldman 1993, p. 375; and Penella 1999, p. 16.

ten by the emperor.¹⁶ In the first, Ep. 204, written *c.* late AD 362/early 363 and addressed to the community of the Jews, Julian says: ἵνα καὶ γὰρ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν πόλεμον διορθωσάμενος τὴν ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐπιθυμουμένην παρ' ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν οἰκουμένην πόλιν ἁγίαν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐμοῖς καμάτοις ἀνοικοδομήσας οἰκίσω καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δόξαν δῶ μεθ' ὑμῶν τῷ κρείττονι. Although some scholars have rejected the authenticity of this epistle,¹⁷ an overwhelming majority accepts it as genuine.¹⁸ One study in particular arguing for Julian authorship successfully addresses such questions as the language and style of the letter, the typically Julian turns of phrases, the repetition of καθ' ὑμῶν applied to the Jews, the reference to the Jewish Patriarch as *brother*, the hiatus in the letter explained as corresponding to hiatus in several turns of speech (in the same letter) betraying the style of the Septuagint, and the abolishing of the apostolè as a futile part of the emperor's 'melting-pot policies.'¹⁹ Even if the letter were to be a forgery, however, it is important to note, as a recent study argues, that a forger can transmit accurate information.²⁰ This letter was probably written immediately before Julian's conference with Jewish leaders in Antioch, and there is a good case for dating this meeting sometime in early 363.²¹ In his *Hymni contra Julianum*, Ephrem, one of the earliest sources for Julian's reign, alludes to Christian heretics

¹⁶ See Wright 1980; Hertlein's edition (Leipzig: Teubner, 1876) gives different numbers for the epistles; I mainly follow the numbering of Bidez and Cumont 1922. Wright, 3: 435–8, gives a Table of for the letters.

¹⁷ Cf. Bidez-Cumont 1922, pp. 279–80; Vogt 1939, pp. 64–68; Hunt 1985, p. 194, n. 53, noting it is a matter of dispute; Smith 1995, p. 278, n. 83; and van Nuffelen 2002, pp. 131–50. I find the latter much less convincing than den Boer 1962. The English translation (Wright, 1980, p. 181) is: "... in order that, when I have successfully concluded the war with Persia, I may rebuild by my own efforts the sacred city of Jerusalem, which for many years you have longed to see inhabited, and may bring settlers there, and, together with you, may glorify the Most High God therein."

¹⁸ Adler 1893, p. 622; Ensslin 1923, pp. 119, 189–90; Wright 1980, p. xxii; Hack, 1940, pp. 118–39; Levi 1941, pp. 1–32; Kopp 1959, pp. 18–20; den Boer 1962, pp. 186–97; Jones 1964, 2, p. 947, and n. 23; Stern 1976–84, 2, pp. 508–10; Aziza 1978, pp. 150–2; Lewy 1983, p. 71; Wilken 1983, p. 52; Avi-Yonah 1984, p. 199; Demandt 1989, p. 432; Levenson 1990, p. 264, n. 11; Blanchetière 1980, p. 62; Feldman 1993, p. 71 and n. 133 and p. 387; Penella 1999, p. 26 and n. 39; and Simmons 2000, 2, pp. 1256–60. I agree with Wright (1980), p. 177, on the date *c.* late AD 362/early 363 of Ep. 204 (= Wright no. 51): "...in order that, when I have successfully concluded the war with Persia, I may rebuild by my own efforts the sacred city of Jerusalem, which for so many years you have longed to see inhabited, and may bring settlers there, and, together with you, may glorify the Most High God therein." References to rebuilding the "sacred city" in the context of corporate worship of the Jewish God should, I suggest, be interpreted as an imperial plan already forming to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

¹⁹ Den Boer 1962.

²⁰ A very good point made by Penella 1999, p. 26.

²¹ In addition to the data found in the following note, see Seaver 1978, p. 279; Soc., HE 3.20; Soz., HE 5.22; Theod., HE 3.15; and J. Chrysostom, S. Bab. 119.

who allied themselves with the emperor in the “middle of the winter” (I.5.3). Because the Jews are mentioned in I.16–7, we may take both groups together as supporters of Julian. In I.7.3 Ephrem further informs us of a secret (ܠܝܫܬܝܢ)²² conference and in I.10.1 we are told that this took place in Shebat (from February new moon to that of March). Although various dates have been proposed for this conference taking place in 362,²³ I would suggest that February–March 363 is more reasonable because of imperial policies which convey an increasingly hostile posture towards Christianity.²⁴ Naming the specific month of such an imperial meeting would appear to be reliable, and not the kind of information that is fabricated, even though not everything in Ephrem’s text can be accepted as accurate.

The growing hostility towards the Christians during this period (late 362–early 363) reflects a change in imperial policies from reserved tolerance to a more overt opposition against the church,²⁵ initiating a program for the organisation of a pagan Hellenic church and possibly influenced by the anti-Christian militancy of Porphyry who had called for the capital punishment of Christians.²⁶ Though Libanius tells us that Julian did not wish to persecute Christians, we may infer from our sources that this meant (1) an official state persecution had not been launched; and (2) Julian did not want to produce martyrs.²⁷ Yet open persecution did occur, often tolerated by the emperor himself.²⁸

²² For the Hym. c. Jul. see Overbeck 1878, pp. 335–56; Beck 1957, pp. 174–5 (includes Syriac text with German trans. and notes); Brock 1977, pp. 267–86; Griffith 1987, pp. 238–66; Lieu 1989; McVey 1989, pp. 226–57; and Cansdale 1996–97.

²³ Lieu 1989, p. 126, referring to the edicts to restore paganism in the winter 361–2; McVey 1989, p. 229, n. 38: citing the edict which exempted Christian clergy from the decurionate of March 13, 362; and Beck 1957, p. 66, n. 9, who gives February 362.

²⁴ Thélamon 1981, p. 296, argues that the meeting took place in Antioch with the Jewish leaders of that city and the Jewish Patriarch.

²⁵ Cf. Bowersock 1978, p. 92; Bidez 1930. Both argue for a more militant attitude. Smith’s thesis 1995 is that Julian’s policy towards the Christians was less hostile. From the summer of 362, however, his attitude toward the Church changed for the worse. Cf. Julian, Ep. 79 (Galileans are depraved); Ep. 84a (Christianity is atheism); Epp. 110 and 112 (Athanasius ordered to leave Alexandria); Ep. 114 (church legacies revoked: cf. Cod. Theod. 3.1.3); Ep. 111 (shamed by pagans converting to Christ); cf. also C.Gal. 43B; 116A; 202A; Greg. Naz., Or. 4.64; Ephrem, Hym. c. Jul. II.1 (Jul. was a wolf appearing as a lamb); in Hym. c. Jul. I.15 f., Jul. and the Jews go against the Church; cf. II.27; Soc., HE 3.1 (recalling bishops); 3.12 (open hatred for Christians); Soz., HE 5.3 (Christian cities suffer); 5.4 (Christians in Caesarea heavily taxed); 5.5 (revoking of Constantinian privileges); Theod., HE 3.2; 3.3.

²⁶ On the Julian pagan church, see Athanassiadi 1992, p. 181; on Porph. and capital punishment (Eusebius, PE 4.1) Barnes 1981, p. 22; Simmons 1995, chapters 8–11.

²⁷ Lib., Or. XVIII.122–4; cf. Soc., HE 3.12.

²⁸ Cf. Soz., HE 5.9 (martyrs at Gaza); 5.10 f. (persecution at Alexandria, Heliopolis, Arethusa, Phrygia); Theod., HE 3.3 (at Emesa, Dorystolium in Thrace, Askalon in Palestine and Sebaste); see also Penella 1993.

The second piece of evidence is a letter to a priest dated sometime *c.* the spring of 363. After referring to the Temple, Julian says:

ὅς γε τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις ἀναστήσασθαι διανοήθητι αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ
κλήθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ θεοῦ.²⁹

Emphasis is placed upon giving reverence to pagan priests, and Julian's authority derives from Didymaeon oracles of *an unknown source* which demand capital punishment for those who disrespect their injunctions. He further adds that there are many other oracles of which he will speak elsewhere on the subject, clearly indicating that he was aware of a contemporary collection.³⁰ It has been suggested that the I Aorist passive, indicative verb διανοήθητι should be translated in the past perfect tense in English, "I had intended," and thus a date sometime after the rebuilding attempt had already failed (*c.* early summer 363) is designated for the epistle; but the contents fit well a chronology of spring 363 when a more overtly hostile attitude was being taken by the emperor against Christianity. If this is correct, we may suggest that διανοήθητι is an Epistolary Aorist denoting time contemporaneous with the writing of the letter.³¹ The translation would be, "I have intended." A recent study³² argues incorrectly that Julian's remark about the Temple being overthrown three times must refer to the recent rebuilding failure in 363, but Adler³³ rightly observed that the phrase *that has not been raised up* in the epistle cannot be "used of a building destroyed only two months before." Also, we know from history that the three subversions of the Temple were by Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes, and Titus.³⁴ Furthermore, Lewy³⁵ has clearly shown that the remark that the Temple had been destroyed three times proves that Julian had Porphyry's criticism of the Book of Daniel in mind, although he does not give the following reference from the *Contra Christianos*:

²⁹ *Fragment of a Letter to a Priest*: Wright 1998, p. 313: "...for I myself, after so great a lapse of time, intended to restore it, in honour of the god whose name has been associated with it."

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 297C–298B, p. 319.

³¹ Seaver 1978, pp. 274–5, follows Wright's trans., but changes the simple past tense with effects in the present to a present tense, "I intend." Drijvers 1992, p. 24, n. 28, interprets Julian's statement as referring to the failed attempt to rebuild the temple in 363.

³² Drijvers 1992, p. 24, n. 28. Others who interpret διανοήθητι as indicating the failure of the Temple project had already occurred when the epistle was written are Bidez 1924, p. 102, n. 2; Vogt 1939, pp. 47, 53; Bowersock 1978, p. 121; Phillips 1979, pp. 168 f. For examples of scholars who do not interpret the Greek verb in this manner see Levenson 1990, p. 278, n. 110. For a critique of Bowersock's position, see T. D. Barnes, CR n.s. 35 1985: 48–50.

³³ Adler, 1893, p. 629.

³⁴ Adler 1893, p. 629, n. 4, on Julian's phrase τρίτον ἀνατραπέντος, ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν.

³⁵ Lewy 1983, p. 73, n. 24.

Hic est Darius, qui cum Cyro Chaldaeos Babyloniosque superavit, ne Putemus illum Darium, cuius anno II. Templum aedificatum est — quod Porphyrius suspicatur, ut annos Danielis extendat — vel eum qui ab Alexandro Macedonum rege superatus est.³⁶

If the second Temple was that of Darius, logic dictates that the third had to be Herod's. Finally, it is clear from the epistle that the emperor was being influenced by oracles.

The third piece of evidence is found in John Lydus³⁷ and was made *after* the Persian campaign had already begun in March 363:

Καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ὅτε πρὸς Πέρσας ἐστρατεύετο, γράφων Ἰουδαίοις οὕτω φησίν· ἀνεγείρω γὰρ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ.³⁸

Lydus' προθυμίας raises the question why was Julian moving so zealously, and whether this implies that he was moving towards the completion of the Temple by a certain date. Also, if we accept the authenticity of Ep. 204, another chronologically important question surfaces: does this mean that Julian changed his mind about the date to begin the reconstruction between the first letter³⁹ and the third one,⁴⁰ from *after* to *before* the invasion of Persia? Was it simply impatience on the emperor's part, or perhaps because of contradictions in our sources?⁴¹ Can we see it as an impulsive decision to complement his policy of reviving Hellenism in the urban centers of the East, which accentuated temple restorations,⁴² animal sacrifices,⁴³ and a

³⁶ "This is Darius who with Cyrus conquered the Chaldaeans and Babylonians. We should not consider that it was that other Darius in whose second year the temple was built — as Porphyry suspects, in order that he may extend the time of Daniel — nor the one who was conquered by Alexander the king of the Macedonians." This is Harnack's CC frag. No. 43N, from CC Bk. XII, on Daniel 9.1, found in Jerome, Comm. in Dan. 9.1. The fragments can be found Harnack 1916.

³⁷ From the *De Mensibus* and partly quoted in Wright 1980, p. 301, Shorter Fragment no. II.

³⁸ "And when Julian was leading his army towards Persia, he wrote the Jews and thus asserted: "For I am raising the temple of the Most High God with all zeal." On the date see (e.g.) Thelamon 1981, p. 299 and n. 73; and Levenson 1990, p. 264.

³⁹ Ep. 204.

⁴⁰ Shorter Fragment no. II from Lydus: Wright 1980, p. 301.

⁴¹ Bowersock 1978, p. 120, says that Lydus "could conceivably be understood to refer to the whole period after Julian left Constantinople." Brodd 1995, p. 34, correctly dates this to after the invasion began. For possible contradictions, see Adler 1893, p. 622, n. 2; and for the impatience argument, see Arce 1975, pp. 201–15, esp. p. 212.

⁴² Cf. Libanius, Or. XII.69 (Edict on Religious Toleration); XIII.13; XVII.18; XVIII.23; XVIII.126; XVIII.129; XVIII.161; XXIV.36; Amm. Marc. XXII.5.1–5; XXII.9.5; Eunapius, Vit. Phil. 478; Soc., HE 3.1; Soz., HE 5.3; 5.16; Theod., HE 3.3; Jul., Ep. *To the Senate and People of Athens* 280D; Sallustius, *De deis et mundo* 15, giving the Neoplatonic concept of temples. Cf. also Bidez (1930); Arce 1975; Criscuolo 1986, pp. 272–92; Banchich 1993, pp. 5–14; and Cameron 1993, pp. 93–4.

⁴³ Cf. Jul., Ep 98 (March 363); Lib., Or. XII.3; XII.80–2; XIV.68–9; XV.67; XVII.4–6; Ephrem, Hym. c. Jul. I.4; II.3; Ambrose, Ep. XL.17; Soc., HE 3.17; Sallustius, *De deis et*

reformed Hellenic priesthood?⁴⁴ Or can there be some direct connection between the evidence found in the second letter noted which indisputably reveals oracular influence upon the emperor,⁴⁵ Lydus' *προθυμία*, and his growing hostility towards Christianity during the months before the Persian campaign?

II. The Rebuilding Chronology

During the winter 362–3 Julian was very busy. In addition to preparing for his Persian campaign,⁴⁶ initiating political and economic reforms in Antioch,⁴⁷ being preoccupied with oracular guidance,⁴⁸ organising an Hellenic church,⁴⁹ and reacting to discontented Antiochene Christians,⁵⁰ he was also writing the *Caesares*, the *Misopogon*, and the *Contra Galilaeos*.⁵¹ His

mundo 16; Iamblichus, *De myst.* 5.6; Josephus, *Ant.* XV.421–3 says Herod sacrificed 300 oxen at his Temple dedication. See also Balty 1974, pp. 267–304; Finamore 1988, pp. 393–401; Bradbury 1995, pp. 331–56; and Woods 1997, pp. 335–67, esp. p. 357.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Amm. Marc.* XXII.5.1–5; *Lib.*, *Or.* XVIII.126; *Soz.*, *HE* 5.3 (on restoring priests' tax exemptions); *Theod.*, *HE* 3.3; *Soc.*, *HE* 3.1; 3.11; *Eunapius*, *Vit. Phil.* 478; *Lib.*, *Or.* XII.69; XVII.9; XVII.18; *Ephrem*, *Hym. c. Jul.* I.4; II.1; II.3; II.27; *Jul.*, *Ep.* 114, *To the Bostrians* (Aug. 1, 362); and *Ep.* 111, *To the Alexandrians*, c. Dec. 362. Cf. also Downey 1955, pp. 199–208; *Id.* 1957, pp. 97–103; *Arce* 1975, pp. 201–15; *Browning* 1976, p. 178; *Scott* 1987, pp. 345–62. *Chuvin* 1990, p. 43; *Athanassiadi* 1992, pp. 181–9; *Cameron* 1993, pp. 93–4; and *Bradbury* 1995, pp. 351–6.

⁴⁵ *Fragment of a Letter to a Priest*: *Wright* 1998, pp. 295–339.

⁴⁶ *Amm. Marc.* 23.1.2; *Lib.*, *Or.* XII.76; *Ephrem*, *Hym. c. Jul.* II.9; *Julian*, *Ep.* 204; *Theod.*, *HE* 3.15; *Ruf.*, *HE* 1.36; *Lieu* 1989, p. 92; *Matthews* 1984, p. 179; *Cameron* 1993, p. 97.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Lib.*, *Or.* XVIII.148 (increasing the Antiochene decurion); on economic policies see (e.g.) *Lib.*, *Or.* XV.8; XV.21; XV.70; XVII.195F; *Soc.*, *HE* 3.17; *Soz.*, *HE* 5.19; *Bowersock* 1978, pp. 99–101; *Athanassiadi* 1992, p. 216; *Smith* 1995, pp. 5–7.

⁴⁸ *Lib.*, *Or.* XVIII.179 f. says *Jul.* was preoccupied during the winter 362–3 with oracles and other types of divination, and this corroborates the testimonies of Gregory Nazianzus and *Ephrem* (on whom see Sections III and IV below). *Lib.*, *Or.* XV.29–31 says even before the Persian campaign *Julian* was seeking guidance from oracles for affairs of state.

⁴⁹ See the first section (with notes) above and *Jul.*, *Ep.* 88, 89a, 84a, 83; *J. Chrysostom*, *S. Bab.* 76; *Theod.*, *HE* 3.8; *Bidez* 1930, pp. 266–8; *Alonso-Núñez* 1973, p. 185; *Browning* 1976, pp. 134–433; *Bowersock* 1978, p. 86; *Scott* 1987, p. 347; *Lieu* 1989, p. 93; *Athanassiadi* 1992, p. 181; and *Smith* 1995, p. 216.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Lib.*, *Or.* XV.19; XVIII.42; *Bowersock* 1978, p. 97; on the *Daphne* incident see the next section below and *Jul.*, *Ep.* 80; *Amm. Marc.* XXII.12.8; *J. Chrysostom*, *S. Bab.* 73–80; *Philos.*, *HE* 7.8; and *Parke* 1985, p. 110.

⁵¹ Often writing hurriedly at night: see *Jul.*, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* 5.178D; on writing the *C. Gal.* in the winter of 362–3 see *Lib.*, *Or.* XVIII.178; Cf. also *Bowersock* 1978, pp. 101–3; *Scicolone* 1982; *Athanassiadi* 1992, p. 161; *Masarakchia* 1990, p. 10; *Barnes* 1994, pp. 53–65, esp. p. 54 (on the CC in Christian libraries); and *Smith* 1995, pp. 190 and 217. In addition to *Galilaeos* used as a pejorative term for Christians, see *Theod.*, *HE* 3.18: *Libanios' Carpenter's son*; for the former used by *Jul.*, see *Ephrem*, *Hym. c. Jul.* III.17; *Jul.*, *Ep.* 46, *To Bishop Aetius*; *Ep.* 88, *To an Official*; *Ep.* 79, *To a Priest*; *Ep.* 54, *To Byzantium*; *Ep.* 111, *To the Alexandrians*. Cf. also *S. Scicolone* 1982, pp. 71–80.

policies toward Christians were becoming more hostile, and by this time he may indeed have “looked forward to the ultimate eradication of Christianity.”⁵² Evidence dated after March 363 also suggests that among the Antiochene pagan intelligentsia, there was a movement to reinstate the imperial cult by offering prayers and sacrifices to the emperor.⁵³

Following Bowersock’s 1978 book on Julian, some scholars have dated the attempt to rebuild the Temple and the termination of the entire project to the period immediately preceding the emperor’s departure for Persia in March 363.⁵⁴ It must be noted, however, that although Ammianus dates the rebuilding order to Alypius to January 363, he nowhere informs his readers how long the preparations took place for the construction to begin.⁵⁵ A reasonable gap in time between the order and the termination should be assumed for a number of reasons. First, a Syriac epistle of the fifth century,⁵⁶ copied in 1899 and erroneously attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, contains many fictional data, but the precise dates given in it for the rebuilding of the Temple cannot, as Brock has noted, be attributed to chance.⁵⁷ Bowersock insists that this is “scarcely credible,”⁵⁸ but this is due to his mis-

⁵² Bowersock 1978, p. 82; and p. 92 for a law dated Jan. 17, 363 eliminating Christians from legal professions in Rome; cf. also Jul., Ep. 136b: an edict of Feb. 363 against daytime funerals which is explicitly anti-Christian; Greg. Naz., Ep. 7; Or. (Jul. used force against Christians); Or. 7.11 refers to bribing Christians; Gennadius, Vir. Ill. I says the emperor ordered the remains of James the Bp. of Nisibis to be removed from the city; Ambrose, Ep. 40.15 gives persecutions of Christians including church-burnings at Damascus, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Alexandria, and other sites; Ep. 40.21 says Jul. allowed (encouraged?) persecutions; Theod., HE 3.4 gives the doubtful statement that Christians were expelled from the military, too costly for the Persian campaign; Fowden 1978, pp. 53–78, esp. p. 60 on Mark of Arethusa according to Soc., HE 10.5–14 and Theod., HE 3.7.10; and Smith 1995, pp. 7 and 209.

⁵³ Lib., Or. XV.36: ‘The time will come when men will sacrifice to you and erect altars and address prayers to you, just as to Heracles,’ found in Nock 1957, pp. 115–23. Logical if Jul. was being influenced by oracles, and this coheres with his perceiving himself as the reincarnation of Alexander the Great. Cf. Lib., Or. XVIII.304: prayers are offered to Jul. after he ascended to the gods; also XIII.47; and XXIV.39 f. quoted in Nock, 844, n. 49; Lib., Or. XIII.42; Greg. Naz., Or. 4.94, on which also see Nock, pp. 844 f., who, however, interprets the data as pointing to the formation of a personality cult similar to the veneration of the Christian saints of the period.

⁵⁴ See Bowersock’s Appendix I 1978, pp. 120–22 for the chronological problems, and p. 90; Browning 1976, p. 176 believes that the reconstruction stopped after Jul. died in June 363; cf. Cansdale 1996–97, p. 19.

⁵⁵ See Matthews 1989, p. 495, n. 44; and Barnes 1998, p. 49, who correctly notes that Bowersock’s dating the entire rebuilding process to Jul.’s period in Antioch “is a misunderstanding of the historian’s technique” because Amm. assigns only the order to rebuild to Jan. 363. Avi-Yonah 1976 argues for a date in late May. Cf. Stemberger 1987, p. 173: “Die Argumente für die Frühdatierung sind nicht zwingend.”

⁵⁶ Harvard Syriac no. 99.

⁵⁷ Brock 1977, pp. 268–80; 1979, p. 104.

⁵⁸ Bowersock 1978, p. 149.

construing the text of Ammianus.⁵⁹ The Syriac letter gives Sunday, Iyyar 18, 363 for the commencement of the rebuilding, and Monday, Iyyar 19, 363 for its termination. This corresponds exactly with Sunday and Monday, May 18–19 of the same year, which are certainly accurate dates.⁶⁰ Although Ammianus attributes the termination of the project to fires coming from the foundations, archeological evidence reveals that a major earthquake, which occurred on Monday, May 19, 363 caused great destruction from Galilee through Petra, and from the coastal littoral throughout the Jordan Valley.⁶¹ Libanius confirms that earthquakes destroyed a number of Palestinian cities before Julian's death in June 363.⁶²

These should be accepted as the accurate dates also because preparations necessary for the reconstruction of the Temple demand a gap in time of several months between the order to rebuild (Jan. 363) and the termination of the work (May 18–19) for obvious reasons. Taking as our examples the construction of the former Temples and Ammianus' statement that Julian was planning to rebuild the "once splendid" Temple at great cost,⁶³ the logistics involved in the project presuppose (1) finding architects able to build according to biblical regulations; (2) generating sufficient revenue to purchase materials; (3) finding a large number of skilled workers; (4) purchasing the materials; (5) transporting the materials; (5) finding/training skilled workers and builders especially for the holy areas; and (7) the making of special (*e.g.*, silver) tools. Not only did these preparations take time, but money as well. Ammianus states that Julian wanted to build the Temple with imperial funds,⁶⁴ but it would be unreasonable to take him literally because the imperial treasury by the 360s was strained, and finances were needed for the Persian campaign. Theodoret may be correct, therefore, to report that Jews from all parts of the empire contributed money after hearing of Julian's order;⁶⁵ and Socrates says that *after* Julian left for Persia in March, supplies including timber, stone, brick, clay, lime and other materials were soon pro-

⁵⁹ Cf. Barnes 1998, p. 49 and note 55 above.

⁶⁰ Cf. Brock 1977, pp. 268; 280; Blanchetière 1980, p. 65; Cansdale 1996–97, pp. 20 f.; Bowersock 1978, p. 122, does acknowledge that May 19, 363 was a Monday.

⁶¹ See Russell 1980, pp. 47–64, esp. p. 54. Aziza 1978, p. 153, argues for a date in May 363 for the commencement of the rebuilding; cf. Demandt 1989, p. 102, n. 29: earthquakes mentioned by Theod., HE 3.20 and Soz., HE 5.22, are historical and took place on May 19, 363. Levenson 1990, pp. 278–279 dates the rebuilding in the spring of 363 and accepts Amm. Marc. (fires stopped the project), believing that May 19 is late if Ep. 89b implies that Julian already knew that the rebuilding had failed.

⁶² Or. 1.134.

⁶³ Amm. Marc. XXXIII.1.2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIII.1.2.

⁶⁵ HE 3.15.

vided.⁶⁶ Finally, whether Julian had knowledge of Josephus' remark that a great atonement sacrifice was offered for the salvation of Cyrus when the Temple was finished in the Persian king's day,⁶⁷ it is worth noting that Julian expressed his desire to sacrifice in the rebuilt Temple,⁶⁸ and it is not surprising that Libanius compares Julian to Cyrus in an oration dated January 363.⁶⁹

Ammianus' statement strongly implies that the emperor had one of the former temples in mind. Although it is unknown which one Julian wanted to emulate, any one of the three predecessors⁷⁰ would have required significant time-consuming preparations, even if the new Julian Temple only approximated any of its former counterparts.⁷¹ Therefore, John Chrysostom's statement that Julian sent engineers and craftsmen from all parts of the empire to Jerusalem to work on the rebuilding project seems to be factual, it makes sense vis-à-vis the preparations made for (e.g.) the Herodian Temple, and should not simplistically be interpreted on the basis of an *Interpretatio christiana*.

Eighteen months were required for the Herodian temple to be constructed.⁷² Josephus adds that the date of the temple's completion coincided with the anniversary of Herod's accession, and because of this double occasion the dedication was very glorious.⁷³ Julian believed that the gods had commanded him — probably by oracles — to restore temple worship, promising him great rewards for his labors.⁷⁴ Julian was proclaimed Caesar on November 6, 355.⁷⁵ If the actual construction took place sometime during the period January to May 18, 363, Julian would have celebrated his

⁶⁶ HE 3.20.

⁶⁷ Jew. Ant. 11.102 f.

⁶⁸ Ep. 204.

⁶⁹ Or. XII.66.

⁷⁰ Solomon's, Cyrus', or Herod's.

⁷¹ According to I Kgs. 6.38, Solomon's temple took seven years to build and was c. 90 ft. long, 30 ft. wide, and 45 ft. tall; only silver tools were permitted in constructing the holy place (I Kgs 6.7); the two cherubs in the Holy of Holies (I Kgs 6.26) required skilled workers who had to prove their priestly lineage according to biblical law. The Temple was paneled with cedar imported from Lebanon, and its floor was made of Cypress (I Kgs 7.9-15); the altar and Holy of Holies were overlaid with gold (I Kgs 6.20-22); Josephus confirms that the preparations for the building of the Temple under Cyrus and Darius were also time-consuming and very costly (E.g., Jew. Ant. XI.70, 78, 79, 101, 102f., 107); on Herod's Temple see L. and K. Ritmeyer 1989; preparations for the latter required 1000 transport wagons, 10,000 skilled workers, and training for masons and carpenters (Jew. Ant. XV.389-390).

⁷² Josephus, Jew. Ant. XV.421.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, XV.423.

⁷⁴ Ep. 26 *To Maximus the Neoplatonic Philosopher*.

⁷⁵ Cf. Eunapius, Vit. Phil. 476; Soc., HE 2.34; 3.1; Soz., HE 5.2; Zos., Hist. nov. 3.1; Bowersock 1978, p. 31.

decennalia eighteen months later on 6 November 365, commemorating ten years of imperial service and dedicating the rebuilt temple to Yahweh. However, based on the numismatic evidence of his reign, the reverse legend *VOT X MVLT XX*, probably indicates that Julian's consulship of 363 marked the early celebrations of his decennalia. These probably occurred 6 November 362 in Antioch.⁷⁶ Since the *VOT X* refers to *vota soluta* or discharged, and the *MVLT XX* to *vota suscepta* or undertaken, the order to rebuild the Temple may have been the result of the former, or even a private vow given sometime before this date.⁷⁷ Moreover, it is plausible that the construction program occurred incrementally, and the dates May 18–19, 363 represent the final stage before building was abruptly terminated.⁷⁸ Finally, we note the important information from Ammianus, John Lydus, and John Chrysostom that Julian wanted the rebuilding of the Temple to take place *speedily*.⁷⁹

III. Julian and Anti-Christian Oracles: The Evidence from Gregory Nazianzus

Even by traditional pagan standards Julian possessed an extraordinary interest in oracles,⁸⁰ and one of his first acts as emperor, in addition to restoring temple worship, was to liberate pagan seers from the fear of imperial policies brought about by Constantine's anti-pagan legislation.⁸¹ This was a reversal of Constantine's edict, which forbade amongst other things the consultation of oracles.⁸² The emperor regularly performed rituals to look into the future, and it is indisputable that oracles exerted a direct influence upon a number of imperial policies.⁸³ John Chrysostom informs us that

⁷⁶ Burgess 1988, p. 84 and n. 24. See also Thirion 1965 for imperial vota during the period 337–364; and for Julian see Sutherland and Carson 1981, pp. 53–54.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ammianus, XXII.9.8: vows to the Magna Mater; and n. 139 below.

⁷⁸ Suggested to me by Professor Harold Drake. This is logical, otherwise we are to think that the entire program began and was terminated within two days. Perhaps Ammianus (XXV.4.16) was thinking about the enormous number of sacrifices that would have taken place at the dedication when he says that the empire would have had a shortage of cattle if Julian had returned victoriously from Persia.

⁷⁹ Amm. Marc. XXIII.1.2; Jul., Ep. 134 (Lydus); and J. Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. 5.11.9 f.

⁸⁰ Cf. Amm. Marc. XXV.4.17; Gregory 1983.

⁸¹ Lib., Or. XVIII.126.

⁸² Eus., VC 2.43.1. Cf. Barnes 1981, p. 210. Theodosius' edict of 391 again closed all oracle sites and forbade divination of any kind (Cod. Theod. 16.10.9; Cod. Just. 1.11.2).

⁸³ Amm. Marc. XXII.12.7. Cf. Jul., Ep. to the Senate and People of Athens 284C–285A (on signs from heaven); 286D (omens); 287D (gods promise to help in state affairs); Ep. 14 (prophetic visions/dreams); Ep. 28 (guidance by oracles); Ep. 98 (favorable omens); Amm. Marc. XXII.1.1, 2; XXIII.3.6–7 (prophetic omens); Lib., Or. XII.82 (daily extispicy); Eunap.,

magicians, sorcerers, soothsayers, augurs, and other occultic practitioners came to Julian's court from all over the Roman Empire,⁸⁴ and Libanius states that he sought every available seer (μαγντες) before he became emperor to acquire foreknowledge of what later happened in his reign.⁸⁵ Other sources clearly indicate that Julian's military and political decisions were influenced by oracles, which were sought out in Asia Minor and Greece, or given by the best *enchanters* and the most skilled *Chaldaeans*.⁸⁶

The incident, which occurred at the temple of Daphne on 22 October 362 involving the removal of St Babylas' remains in order to revive the oracle,⁸⁷ is important for understanding both the emperor's zeal to disparage Christian claims to a unique revelation,⁸⁸ and his fanatical desire to receive the gods' approval by oracles for imperial policies. Moreover, if there is an overwhelming consensus in our literary sources, both pagan and Chris-

Vit. Phil. 475f. (Jul.'s own prophecies); Ephrem, Hym c. Jul. II.4; II.10; II.15–7; III.7; III.9 (oracular guidance); Soz., HE 5.1–2; Theod., HE 3.1 (Jul. sought oracles throughout Greece); J. Chrysostom, S. Bab. 2 (seeking prophets for guidance); Ambrose, Ep. XVIII.38 (trusting soothsayers).

⁸⁴ J. Chrysostom, S. Bab. 77.

⁸⁵ Lib., Or. XIII.14; XVIII.173, 176, 179, 306.

⁸⁶ Cf. Soz., HE 5.2; Ephrem, who is the earliest Christian source: Hym. c. Jul. II.13; III.14; III.17; IV.7; Theod., HE 3.16. Cf. also Julian, Ep. 9: he claims to practice the mantic art; Ep. 18: he received the prophetic gift from the Didymaeon Apollo (cf. Gregory 1983, p. 363); during the winter 362–3, he made frequent visits to the oracle of Daphne (Misopogon, 346B); on oracular influence on official appointments and military decisions before the Persian campaign see: Lib., Or. XVIII.180; XV.53 (Jul. is *Apollo's friend*); Jul., Ep. 9; Ep. 57; Amm. Marc. XXII.12.6–7; XXIII.5.19; Lib., Or. XII.100; Zos., Hist. nova 3.9; 3.11; Ephrem, Hym. c. Jul. II.4; II.9; IV.14; IV.26; Theod., HE 3.6; 3.16; and Theod., HE 3.16. Cf. Browning 1976, p. 113; and Griffith 1987, pp. 238–66, p. 244. On conflicting prophecies about the Persian campaign see Matthews 1989, pp. 1788 f.; Fontenrose, 1978, p. 352, concludes that Jul.'s military oracles are not genuine. Yet Amm. clearly indicates that the emperor was depending upon oracles before and during the Persian War: cf. XXIII.5.9: the *oracular dubia* and the conflict between the traditional Etruscan soothsayers and the Neoplatonic philosophers on their proper interpretation in XXIII.5.9–14 before the war began. An oracle predicted Julian's death: Amm. Marc. XV.3.19; the *Rescript on Christian Teachers* reveals the emperor's belief in the oracular basis of Graeco-Roman culture: Jul., Ep. 61c. The Rescript was considered harsh by Amm. (XV.4.20); cf. Soc., HE 3.12; 3.16; Soz., HE 5.18; Theod., HE 3.4; Ambrose, Ep. 17.4; Bowersock 1978, pp. 83 f.; Smith 1995, p. 199; by oracles Apollo has established civilisation in the world: Jul., *Hymn to King Helios* IV.152D; cf. IV.144A: Apollo is the interpreter of the purposes of Helios for humanity.

⁸⁷ On Jul.'s attempt to revive the oracle at Daphne see (*e.g.*) Jul., Mis. 361 B–C; Ep. 80, April 362, to his uncle Julian ordering the restoration of the temple's pillars; Amm. Marc. XXII.12.8–13.2; Lib., Or. XVII.30; Soc., HE 3.18; Soz., HE 5.19; Theod., HE 3.6; J. Chrysostom, S. Bab. 80–113; Browning 1976, p. 155; Bowersock 1978, p. 99; Gregory 1983, p. 366; Lieu 1989, pp. 511–5177; Cameron 1993, p. 95 f.; Smith 1995, p. 205.

⁸⁸ Often by showing how the Christians had apostatised from Judaism: Ep. 47; C. Gal. 43A; 194D; 197C; 238A–B; 319D–E; 351B; 354A; cf. Ep. 37. On apostasy from Judaism see Theod., HE 3.8; Meredith 1980, pp. 1119–11149; Demarolle 1986, pp. 39–47, p. 43; Masaracchia 1990, pp. 18 f.; Athanassiadi 1992, p. 134; Smith 1995, p. 200.

tian,⁸⁹ on anything related to Julian's religious practices, it is certainly to be found in his belief in oracles and his intense desire to revive oracular sites in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Apparently the belief in the oracular basis of Graeco-Roman civilisation was central to the pagan attempt to revive Hellenism in its confrontation with Christianity in the Later Roman Empire.⁹⁰

It is thus highly probable that Julian's order to rebuild the Jewish Temple was inherently related to his belief that by oracles the gods gave him supernatural guidance. A Roman emperor would normally consult an oracle before making an important military or political decision. Yet the problem arises in the fact that the oracle sites had become silent by the middle of the third century. For when Julian sent Oribasius to rebuild Apollo's temple at Delphi, the response was that the prophetic spirit had departed.⁹¹ If Julian did receive the "last voices of pagan prophecy," where did he acquire them?⁹²

Gregory of Nazianzus and Ephrem of Nisibis (See Section IV below) are important for our investigation because they, along with Ammianus Marcellinus and Libanius, are the earliest witnesses to the events surrounding the order to rebuild the temple, and both shed further light upon the influence of oracles upon Julian during the last months of his life. In Or. 4.53 it is interesting that Gregory, who wrote his *Orationes* most probably shortly after Julian's death in June 363,⁹³ refers to the belief that a sign from heaven would occur before great changes took place. Then in 4.115, after

⁸⁹ Ammianus, Libanius, Zosimus, Ephrem, Gregory Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret.

⁹⁰ Cf. Lib., Ep. 108 *To Dulcitius*, who says that now divination can be openly practiced, and it will make 'our city' greater with additions and adornments. Referring to Jul., Ep. 88, Parke 1985, pp. 109 f., notes that Jul. was applying oracles to contemporary situations of his day. See also Athanassiadi 1977, pp. 360–71.

⁹¹ For the last pagan oracle found in Philostorgius, the *Artemii Passio* of John Rhodes, and George Kedrenos, which informed Julian that the prophetic spirit was now silent, see Gregory 1983. For an alternative view of the authorship of the *Artemii Passio* see Montserrat and Lieu 1996, pp. 217–218. This occurred at Delphi. For the view that John of Damascus was the author see Kotter 1988, pp. 183–245. Cf. also Levin 1989, pp. 1599–1649. Fontenrose 1978, pp. 5, 56, 67, and 234, argues that Jul.'s two Delphic oracles (Q 262 and Q 263) are of doubtful authenticity; yet the composite picture we can infer from the sources would reveal the opposite view expressed in this section.

⁹² Gregory 1983, p. 365, n. 35. On the silence of the oracles during this period, see (*e.g.*) Jul., C.Gal. 198C, and Greg Naz., Or. 5.25.

⁹³ For the early date see (*e.g.*) Bernardi 1983; Regali 1980, pp. 401–9, pp. 408 f., gives the date between Sept. 9, 364 and May 5, 365; Kurmann 1988, p. 10: "...dass der Grossteil von Or. 4 und 5 zur Zeit Jovians geschrieben wurde."; and Mattera 1991: 139–433, gives 363–64. On the debate on the reliability of Greg. Naz. see (*e.g.*): Philips 1979, p. 167; Griffith 1987, p. 244, noting the genre of the *ψωγος* as a formal rhetorical device of Greek epideictic oratory; and Penella 1993, p. 36.

enumerating the details in Julian's program to revive Hellenism in the urban centers of the East (4.III-4), Gregory explicitly states that the emperor was planning to supply them with interpreters of *inspired oracles* (θεοφόρων λογίων), apparently significant in light of an earlier remark (4.96) that before he died, Julian was contemplating a persecution of Christianity similar to those of Diocletian, Maximian, and Maximin. Also, in Or. 4 and the early part of Or. 5 we are told that Julian's policies toward the Christians were becoming increasingly more hostile before the Persian war.⁹⁴

In Or. 5.3 we find an important passage. After informing us that Julian stirred up the Jews to go against the Christians, Gregory adds:

ἐπιθειάζων τε δῆθεν ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς βίβλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων ὥς νῦν αὐτοῖς ἀποκείμενον εἶη κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὸν νεῶν ἀναδείμασθαι καὶ τῶν πατρῶων τὸ κράτος ἀνανεώσασθαι, καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενος εὐνοίας πλάσματος τὴν ἐπίνοιαν.

He was speaking prophetically in their presence from the books and esoteric revelations that it was the time now for them to go down to their country, rebuild the temple, renew the vitality of their ancestral customs, and he was thus concealing by the pretence of good-will his true purpose.

The participle ἐπιθειάζων is best translated as *speaking under divine influence* or even *prophesying*,⁹⁵ and it is interesting that Porphyry uses the Aorist form (ἐπιθειάσαντες) of this uncommon verb in the CC with the meaning *speaking divine oracles*, which may imply Porphyrian linguistic and conceptual influence on Julian.⁹⁶ Lewy translates ἐπιθειάζων as *Julian proclaimed in prophetic language*.⁹⁷ Rather than translating παρ' αὐτοῖς as a possessive, as some scholars do,⁹⁸ it may make better sense as a preposition, *before them*, or *in the presence of them*, with *them* referring to the Jews (and others) in attendance at the conference about rebuilding the Temple which, I suggest, occurred in the winter of 362–3. The βίβλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων apparently allude to Jewish scriptures, perhaps including the passages like Isaiah 66 that were prophetically interpreted by the Rabbis of the period in conjunction with the rebuilding of the Temple before the coming of the Messiah;⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Or. 4.61; 4.68; 4.79; 4.84; 4.86; 4.88 f.; 4.92; 4.93; 5.1; 5.3. The latter says he was becoming more infuriated with the Christians daily. On Greg. Naz., Or. 4.III–II4, see Kurmann 1988, pp. 367–85.

⁹⁵ As does King 1888: to be used, however, with great caution. A more recent trans. with Greek text is Bernardi 1983; cf. also Kurmann 1988.

⁹⁶ Harnack CC Frag. no. 39 = Eus., HE 6.19.

⁹⁷ Lewy 1983:74.

⁹⁸ Cf. the works of (e.g.) King 1888, Bernardi 1983 and Lewy 1983.

⁹⁹ See n. 15 above, especially the reference to the inscription of Isaiah 66:14 at the Temple and dated to Julian's reign. Mazar 1971, p. 23, suggested that the inscription was written to express the joy of the Jews who came to Jerusalem to begin reconstructing the Temple, and notes this text was studied by the Rabbis and prophetically interpreted in connection with the restoration of the Temple.

and pagan anti-Christian writings, perhaps including Porphyry's *Philosophia ex oraculis*. If we restrict παρ' αὐτοῦς to a possessive meaning, we must then identify the *secret writings* (ἀπορρήτων) of the Jews from which Julian was *prophesying*. If however ἀπορρήτων means *prohibited, forbidden, not to be spoken, a secret, or esoteric doctrine*, we have a more coherent interpretation, and there may be literary dependence upon Porphyry implied because the latter in his Preface to Phil. or. commanded his addressee to conceal the ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότατα from the *profane*.¹⁰⁰ Also, Porphyry's κρύπτειν¹⁰¹ may lie behind Gregory's remark that Julian was *concealing* (ἀποκρυπτόμενος) his true *purpose* (ἐπίνοιαν) on the subject, which was to attack Christianity.¹⁰² The ὡς νῦν connected with ἀποκείμενον may presuppose a rather intensive study of some kind of prophetic literature during the winter of 362–3 which convinced Julian that the rebuilding had been divinely foreordained, and the time for its fulfillment was 363. *Speaking prophetically* may therefore imply that the winter conference of Shebat 363 included serious discussions of the prophetic rationale for the project in which Jewish supporters of Julian might have applied such biblical texts as (e.g.) Isaiah 66 to persuade their hesitant compatriots; and works like the Phil. or. might have been used to persuade the pagans, that the time had now come to rebuild the Temple.¹⁰³ Lydus' προθυμίας and the remark by J. Chrysostom¹⁰⁴ make sense in light of this and seem to indicate that the emperor was compelled to start the rebuilding very hurriedly.

Another important passage from Gregory Nazianzus is Or. 5.9:

πᾶσαν μαντείας καὶ γοητείας ῥητῆς τε καὶ ἀρρήτου θυσίας τερατείας εἰς ἓν ἀγαγών, ἵν' ἐν βραχεῖ πᾶσα καταλυθῇ. Καὶ τὸ καλλιέρημα ὡς μέγα καὶ ὑπερφύεες, ὦ Χριστέ καὶ Λόγε καὶ πάθη τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ κόσμου παντὸς μυστήριον ὅλον τὸ χριστιανῶν γένος παραστῆσαι τοῖς δαίμοσιν, εἰ τοῦ προκειμένου κρατήσῃ.

He amassed all the astonishing modes of divination, sorcery, and known and secret methods of sacrifice in order to destroy everything in a brief period of time. Oh Christ and Word, Oh Passion of the Impassible God and the Mystery of the entire Universe: it would have been a great and extraordinary sacrifice for all the Christian race to be handed over to the demons, if indeed he had achieved what he had proposed.

¹⁰⁰ Eus., PE 4.8.

¹⁰¹ Eus., PE 4.8.

¹⁰² Or. 5.3.

¹⁰³ Levy 1983, p. 75, interprets Gregory's *now* prophetically, but associates it with Jacob's blessing about the coming of Shiloh according to the LXX text of Gen. 49:10. Cf. Avi-Yonahh 1976, p. 193, who simply says that Jul. proved to the Jews from their scriptures that the time to rebuild the Temple had arrived. Though a Roman emperor in normal circumstances would not need to persuade anyone to make a decision of this nature, the meeting might have had the goal of soliciting economic support for the Temple project and the Persian campaign.

¹⁰⁴ S. Bab. 77.

It is clear from this that Julian had access to one or more secret oracles which inspired him to set as his goal the destruction of Christianity in a *brief period of time* (ἐν βραχεῖ) after his successful war in Persia. It indicates also that he was inspired by oracles to work *hurriedly* within a short period of time.

Although Gregory studied with Julian in Athens, was an eye-witness to his behavior, and some of the contents of the *Invectives Against Julian* are accurate, I am not arguing that *everything* that Gregory of Nazianzus reports about Julian and his policies is historical fact,¹⁰⁵ but the *one issue of his interest in oracles* — including anti-Christian ones — cannot be hypercritically explained as an *Interpretatio Christiana*, simply because, as already noted, there is quite convincing literary evidence that supports the conclusion that if there is one subject on which pagan and Christian authors unanimously agree regarding the religious philosophy and practices of Julian, it is his interest in oracles and how they often motivated his decisions during the months preceding the Persian War. I therefore conclude that the testimony from Gregory concerning the anti-Christian oracles which Julian received is based on historical reality.

In Or. 5.25 Greg. Naz. adds: Ποῦ αἱ κατὰ χριστιανῶν μαντεῖαι καὶ ἀπειλαὶ καὶ ἡ κατὰ προθεσμίαν κατάλυσις ἡμῶν μέχρις ὀνόματος; (“Where are the oracles against the Christians now, their threats predicting the destruction of us according to the fore-appointed time, even our Name?”) Gregory is saying that Julian’s actions were motivated by anti-Christian oracles (κατὰ χριστιανῶν μαντεῖαι) which gave threats (ἀπειλαὶ) according to a limited, fixed, or foreordained period of time (προθεσμίαν), and predicted the termination (κατάλυσις) of Christianity (ἡμῶν), even including *the name* (ὀνόματος). The addition of ὀνόματος may at first sight seem superfluous, but it does not look like a fabrication, especially if we recall Julian’s interest in oracles, and Augustine’s testimony in *De civitate dei* 18.53 may help to shed further light on our inquiry:

Cum enim viderent nec tot tantisque persecutionibus eam potuisse consumi, sed his potius mira incrementa sumpsisse, excogitaverunt nescio quos versus

¹⁰⁵ One of a no. of rhetorical exaggerations: the killing of children for rites of necromancy (Or. 4.92). Examples of accurate data: in addition to a reference to the Edict against Christians teaching Classical literature found in Or. 4, Gregory notes the emperor’s frequent sacrifices (4.3); his early education in Cappadocia (Or. 4.22 f.) and attachment to the church (Or. 4.23); not wishing to produce Christian martyrs (Or. 4.27); apostasy to paganism (Or. 4.52); sacrificing at the imperial palace (Or. 4.52); being superstitious (Or. 4.53); obsession with looking into the future (Or. 4.55); calling the Christians *Galileans* (Or. 4.74); allowing persecutions in Gaza and Arethusa (Or. 4.86-91); patterning a Hellenic religious system after the Church’s organisation and charitable practices (Or. 4.111); details about his physical appearance and behavior (Or. 5.233 f.).

Graecos tamquam consulenti cuidam divino oraculo effusos, ubi Christum quidem ab huius tamquam sacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem, Petrum autem maleficia fecisse subiungunt, ut coleretur Christi nomen per trecentos sexaginta quinque annos, deinde completo memorato numero annorum sine mora sumeret finem¹⁰⁶

Just before this Augustine says that the worshippers of the false gods invented (*fingerent*) the story that by the responses of demons whom they worship as gods, it was determined *how long the Christian religion would last*.¹⁰⁷ Greek oracular verses, which compliment Christ while attributing wickedness to his disciples presuppose direct influence from Porphyry's *Philosophia ex oraculis*. The mention of *thinking up* (excogitaverunt) *one divine oracle* (divino oraculo) *after many great persecutions* (tot tantisque persecutionibus) poses no problems for the interpretation that the oracle predicting the demise of Christianity 365 years after its beginning derives from the Phil. or., for two reasons. First, Augustine (Civ. Dei XIX.23, Greene, p. 216) accuses Porphyry himself of inventing (confinxerit) oracles found in the work; and in the Phil. or. 344cF (Aug., Civ. Dei XXII.25.1–15; Smith, 1993) the accusation that the witchcraft of Peter compelled God to make the prediction about the resurrection of the body is prefaced by “well-known philosophers,” and immediately followed by naming Porphyry twice in the fragment. Thus the oracle mentioned by Augustine in Civ. Dei XVIII.53 derived from the Phil. or. and should be included in the extant fragments of that work. The plural forms of the verbs of that text (*fingerent*, *excogitaverunt*) most probably refer to Neoplatonic philosophers in Julian's entourage who were inspired by the oracle and chronologically applied it to contemporary anti-Christian developments. Since the oracle sites were dead by Julian's day, we may give the year 394 as a *terminus ante quem* for the predicted demise of Christianity to take place. The remark about the oracle being in Greek verses agrees with Eusebius,¹⁰⁸ where Porphyry's oracles in the Phil.or. are written in elegant Greek poetry, and

¹⁰⁶ De civ. Dei XVIII.53 (LCL: Greene.): “For when they saw that it could not be destroyed by all those many great persecutions but rather increased amazingly because of them, they thought up some Greek verses or other, as if they were the outpouring of a divine oracle in reply to some one consulting it; in them they make Christ blameless, to be sure, of this charge of sacrilege (so to call it), but explain that Peter contrived by sorcery that the name of Christ should be worshipped for three hundred and sixty-five years, and then after the completion of that number of years it should immediately come to an end.” Noteworthy is Gregory's conclusion that all such oracles predicting the demise of Christianity have now been falsified (πάντα, διεψεύσται), and now that Julian is dead the pagans must close the *oracle books* (Or. 5.31: μαντικὰς βιβλούς).

¹⁰⁷ Civ. dei 18.53: “Sed haec quia evangelica sententia est, mirum non est non ea repressos fuisse deorum multorum falsorumque cultores quominus fingerent daemonum responsis, quos tamquam deos colunt, definitum esse quanto tempore mansura esset religio Christiana.”

¹⁰⁸ PE 4.6–7. 303F (Smith 1993).

Augustine concurs.¹⁰⁹ A number of scholars have concluded that the oracle derives directly from Phil. or., and as noted, Augustine's use of *fingerent* and *excogitaverunt* poses no problems for such an interpretation.¹¹⁰ An original Porphyrian influence appears indisputable. For example, Augustine says that those who disseminated the oracle *had believed* that the past persecutions would destroy Christianity, a sentiment which Porphyry expressed in his polemical writings.¹¹¹ Augustine informs us that in the oracle of Civ. dei 18.53, Christ is depicted as blameless, and this agrees with the Hecatean oracle of Phil. or. and quoted in Aug., Civ. dei 19.23 and Eus., DE 3.7.¹¹² Both also denigrate Jesus' disciples.¹¹³ In Civ. dei 18.53 Augustine says that the allegedly *divine oracle* came from the demons whom pagans worship as gods, and it had a profoundly anti-Christian message; the same method and message can be found in the Phil. or.¹¹⁴ It is thus reasonable to conclude that the oracle cited in Civ. dei 18.53 derived directly from the *Philosophie ex oraculis*.

It is equally reasonable to suggest that a number of Julian's Neoplatonic advisers who were well known for their free invention in interpreting omens, portents, and oracles, often in direct contradistinction with the emperor's traditional Etruscan soothsayers, might have been inspired by certain oracles found in Porphyry's *Philosophia ex oraculis*, which prophesied the destruction of Christianity, and added their own commentary to them, thus giving a contemporary prophetic interpretation to events in Julian's reign. The oracle to which Augustine refers in Civ. dei 18.53 may thus be the product of this hermeneutical method. Porphyry often added his own commentary to the oracles he enumerated in the Phil. or.¹¹⁵ Can we not logically assume that the Neoplatonic philosophers in Julian's entourage did the same? The answer would appear to be, yes, if we consider the following data.

¹⁰⁹ Civ. dei. 19.23: "Nam in libris, quos ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας appellat, in quibus exequitur atque conscribit rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium velut divina responsa...ex Graeca lingua in Latinam..." haec ait versibus Apollo." A preface to 344F; 345aF; and 346F (Smith 1993).

¹¹⁰ E.g. O'Meara 1959; Chadwick 1985, pp. 125–9. Potter 1994, pp. 104–5, believes that the oracle mentioned in Civ. dei 18.52 f. came into vogue in the 390s in N. Africa. It is doubtful, however, that a Greek anti-Christian oracle of this nature originated in N.Afr. this late in the pagan-Christian conflict long after the demise of the oracle sites. I suggest below that the oracle was recirculated in Aug.'s time and reinterpreted chronologically.

¹¹¹ Cf. (e.g.) Aug., Civ. dei 10.32.

¹¹² Aug., Civ. dei 19.23: "Christum enim dii piissimum pronuntiaverunt et inmortalem factum et cum bona praedicatione eius meminerunt." Cf. Eus., DE 3.7: Χριστὸν οἱ θεοὶ εὐσεβέστατον ἀπεφάναντο καὶ ἀθανάτον γεγονότα, εὐφύμῳς τε αὐτοῦ μνημονεύουσι.

¹¹³ Aug., Civ. dei 18.53 and 19.23; cf. Eus., DE 3.7; and 344F; 345F; 345aF; and 346F (Smith 1993).

¹¹⁴ Cf. Aug., Civ. dei 19.23; 345aF (Smith 1993).

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

First, concerning the assertion that Christianity would be destroyed, according to Gregory of Nazianzus and Ephrem (See below), Julian was looking forward to the annihilation of Christianity upon returning from Persia, and John Chrysostom tells us that the emperor was planning the same.¹¹⁶ Theodoret remarks that Julian was deceived by oracles which assured him of success against the Persians and an eventual campaign against the Galilaeans.¹¹⁷ Libanius' last words to Julian, dated May 363, when the latter was in Persian territory, are important for their reference to many people coming back to Hellenism, and the power of oracular revelation (*μαντική*), which teaches mankind how to administer the cities of the empire.¹¹⁸ Earlier in the year, Libanius had expressed the hope that the imperial cult would soon be reinstated.¹¹⁹ This is found in the context of references to prophecies, which lead Julian in state affairs, and his ability to hear the gods' voices. Remarks found in Julian and Ammianus (and others), as noted above, confirm that oracular revelation was a main source of guidance for the emperor at this time.¹²⁰

Even if we were not to accept the view that Julian changed his mind between Ep. 204 and Ep. 134, nonetheless Ammianus, John Lydus, John Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzus (*Cf.* the *ἐν βραχεῖ* of Or. 5.9; and *προθεσμίαν* of Or. 5.25; above) all agree that Julian wanted the rebuilding of the temple to take place rather hurriedly, with which we should compare the *sine mora* of Civ. dei 18.53. Why so hurriedly? The answer could very well be that he wanted to see the fulfillment of this Porphyrian-inspired oracle, to which I suggest was attached a commentary by his Neoplatonic advisers, in his lifetime before the 365 years were terminated. Ammianus explicitly states that the interpretation given by the philosophers close to Julian — including Maximus and Priscus¹²¹ — of various omens or oracles occurring just before and during the Persian campaign often contradicted the interpretation proposed by the traditional *haruspices* who normally ac-

¹¹⁶ S. Bab. 121.

¹¹⁷ HE 3.16.

¹¹⁸ Ep. 100.5.

¹¹⁹ Or. XV.3.

¹²⁰ Soc., HE 3.21 may not be exaggerating to say that Jul. believed that he was the reincarnation of Alexander the Great. Jul., Ep. 98 *To Libanius*, March 10, 363, states that Zeus declares all things auspicious. See Amm. XXI.1.6; XXII.12.6–7; Lib., Or. XVIII.48; Ephrem, Hym. c. Jul. II.9; Soc., HE 3.21 stresses Maximus of Ephesus' influence on Jul.; Theod., HE 3.21.

¹²¹ *Cf.* Matthews 1989, pp. 126 f. In Amm. the *haruspices*' interpretation stated the Persian campaign would not be successful, but the opinions of the philosophers gave the opposite advice to Julian. Matthews cites Chal. or. Frag. 107, which rejects the values of traditional *haruspicina*.

accompanied a Roman emperor.¹²² In other words, they interpreted the revelatory data according to their (and the emperor's) own political agenda.¹²³ Julian was seeking new ways to consult oracles during the period,¹²⁴ and we have noted above that Gregory's ὡς νῦν connected with ἀποκείμενον¹²⁵ may presuppose a rather intensive study of prophetic literature during the winter of 362–3, which convinced Julian that the rebuilding had been divinely foreordained, and the time for its beginning was 363. *Philosophia ex oraculis* was most probably the primary prophetic literature that inspired him, and from this there developed his Neoplatonic advisers' commentary on the oracle, derived from Phil. or. (cf. 344cF, Smith 1993), predicting the end of Christianity 365 years after its inception. It is possible that Julian changed his totally negative assessment of Jewish prophets when he discovered (or refreshed his memory concerning) the pro-Jewish and anti-Christian oracles in the Phil. or.,¹²⁶ and Gregory's βιβλῶν¹²⁷ may refer to O.T. prophecies, possibly including important texts like Isaiah 66, which could have been discussed during his conference with the Jews in Shebat 363.¹²⁸

We recall that Greg. Naz. depicts Julian as *prophesying* to the Jews, implying a discussion of prophetic texts related to the rebuilding. Comparison should also be made between Augustine's "ut coleretur Christi nomen per trecentos sexaginta quinque annos, deinde completo memorato numero annorum sine mora sumeret finem"¹²⁹ and Greg. Nazianzus:¹³⁰ a *secret* oracle influenced Julian to set as his goal the destruction of Christianity in a brief period of time (ἐν βραχεῖ; cf. *sine mora* of Civ. dei 18.53) after the Persian

¹²² See Amm. XXII.1–2: Julian himself offered his own interpretation to omens before Constantius' death (on his free interpretation see also Greg. Naz., Or. 4.54); XXII.7.3: Julian's great reverence for Maximus; XXII.12.6: questioning the oracles (*oraculorum*); XXII.12.8: seeking a new method of consulting oracles; XXIII.1.7: Sibylline Books warn against the Persian invasion; XXIII.5.10–14: conflict in interpretations between *haruspices* and philosophers; XXV.2.7: Jul. rejects the advice of the *haruspices*.

¹²³ See O'Donnell 1979, p. 58 on Amm. XXIII.5.13 f; and Matthews 1989, pp. 128 f.

¹²⁴ Note the *novam consilii viam* in Amm. XXII.12.8.

¹²⁵ Or. 5.3.

¹²⁶ As late as the winter of 362–3 Julian was saying the Hebrew God did not have wise prophets, on which see Jul., *Letter to a Priest*, 295C–296B. Cf. C.Gal. 138C; and Julian's attitude towards the Jews in general: Dostalova 1982, pp. 1–12; and Bregman 1995, pp. 135–9, esp. 144 and 148.

¹²⁷ Or. 5.3.

¹²⁸ On Julian's attitude to the Jews see also (e.g.) Bidez 1930, pp. 307 f; Geffcken 1978, p. 154; Fouquet 1981, p. 201; Athanassiadi 1992, pp. 163 f.; Bregman 1995, p. 146; Brodd 1995, p. 36. Note also that the two preceding kings who rebuilt the Temple were Gentiles, and both were inspired to begin the work by prophecy. Cyrus issued his order after reading Isaiah, and the Essene prophet Manecanus told Herod that he still had decades to live, whereupon the king undertook the rebuilding project (Jos., Jew. Ant. 15.378).

¹²⁹ Civ. dei 18.53.

¹³⁰ Or. 5.9.

War, and this would even include the name (κατάλυσις ἡμῶν μέχρις ὀνόματος: Greg. Naz., Or. 5.25; cf. Civ. dei 18.53: "Christi nomen...sumeret finem."). We noted already that *name* (ὄνοματος) is the same word found in the Civ. dei 18.53 passage which also says that Peter used magic to ensure the continuation of Christianity for 365 years (cf. 344cF, Smith 1993). In the C. Gal. Julian argues that the Apostles practiced magic (τῆς μαγανείας τὸ ἔργον) and passed it on to those who first adopted the faith.¹³¹ Another interesting remark is found in Or. 7.228C where Julian says that Christian worship resulted from beliefs impelled by fate (τῆς τύχης) because Christians neglected the gods, which is identical to the contents of the Hecatean oracle.¹³²

If Civ. dei 18.53 reflects a Neoplatonic elaboration, in the form of a philosophical commentary, upon anti-Christian oracles found in Porphyry's *Philosophia ex oraculis*, which influenced the timing of Julian's decision to rebuild the Temple, exactly when did Julian date the beginning of the worship of Christ's name? There are two possibilities: Christ's birth or his crucifixion (Pentecost). Augustine dated it at Pentecost c. AD 29 in the consulship of the two Gemini.¹³³ He calculates that the 365 years ended on the Ides of May in the consulship of Honorius and Eutychianus in AD 398. The next year (March 18, 399), officials in Carthage demolished pagan temples and images,¹³⁴ revealing the strong pagan belief in the Porphyrian-inspired oracle which, I suggest, was reinterpreted chronologically in Augustine's day.¹³⁵ Julian apparently agreed with this chronology, calculating the beginning of Christianity after Jesus became an adult to "a little more" than 300 years.¹³⁶ By AD 394,¹³⁷ 365 years after the crucifixion, Julian would have

¹³¹ 340A: on receiving prophetic revelation at martyrs' graves.

¹³² Por., Phil. or. in Aug., Civ. dei 19.23, 345aF (Smith 1993). On the Apostles using magic, especially related to the cult of the martyrs, see also (e.g.) C.Gal. 335D; 339E; 340A. See Sallustius, *De diis et mundo* 19, for the reason why Neoplatonists had an aversion for tombs: departed souls of the wicked were thought to live around them.

¹³³ Civ. dei 18.4.

¹³⁴ Civ. dei 18.55.

¹³⁵ For the view that the prophecy mentioned in Aug., Civ. Dei XVIII.53–54 should be dated during the 390s, designed to support the regime of Eugenius, see (e.g.) Potter 1994, pp. 104–105; but texts upon which this interpretation is often based (e.g., Soz., HE 7.22), though mentioning oracular influence, do not refer to the destruction of Christianity 365 years after its beginning.

¹³⁶ In C.Gal. 213 A Jul. says Jesus was a subject of Caesar 'a little more' than 300 years ago; and in 191 D–E, he says Jesus has not been known for much more than 300 years. However, these are references to Jesus' adult life, and (as noted) ancient writers often give round figures. On J. Chrysostom see Schatkin and Harkins 1983, p. 182, who gives Adv. Jud. 5.3.15 in reference to the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, 316 yrs. before; Chrysostom says 'many more' than three centuries have passed. Cf. also Ephrem, Hym. c. Jul. II.20.4, who gives 30 years for the accurate 26 in calculating the period between the first attack on Nisibis and its fall, see Beck 1957, p. 79, n. 30; and McVey 1989, p. 240, n. 95.

¹³⁷ Augustine's calculations were inaccurate.

been 63 when the fulfillment of the oracle had occurred.¹³⁸ Even if he had not lived to see the Temple completed, he would have been given credit for providing historical proof that Jesus was a false prophet, Christianity was not based on the truth, and the anti-Christian oracles of Porphyry and the Porphyrian-inspired oracle were true. The testimony stating that Julian was compelled to move forward rather hurriedly with the rebuilding (Ammianus, John Lydus, John Chrysostom, and Greg. Naz.) is perhaps best understood as a decision motivated by his belief in the fulfillment of the Porphyrian-inspired oracle within his lifetime. With this in mind, Julian's *vota suscepta* (MVL T XX) during the early celebration of his decennialia, which probably occurred on 6 November AD 362, undoubtedly given for the *salus* of the Empire and probably contingent upon the gods' giving him a victory in the Persian campaign, might very well have promised the full restoration of the ancestral religious customs (Graeco-Roman polytheism) upon which the success of the Roman Empire had been established. The *vota soluta* (VOT X) might thus (as noted) be taken to include the order to rebuild the Temple. If all of these objectives had been achieved, by AD 394 — the date of the fulfillment of the 365 year prophecy — the Constantinian Revolution might indeed have been successfully reversed.¹³⁹

IV. Julian and Anti-Christian Oracles: The Evidence from Ephrem

St. Ephrem of Nisibis (later Edessa) wrote the *Hymni contra Julianum* in Syriac in 363 shortly after the death of the emperor.¹⁴⁰ A deacon, ascetic, and prolific author of prose and poetry, he was so highly revered in Syriac-speaking churches that his writings were read along with the scriptures.¹⁴¹ As a contemporary witness to the reign of Julian his works have to date still not been fully assessed for their historical value.¹⁴² Descriptions of contemporary events in the Hymns, however, would appear to be significant both

¹³⁸ If Julian dated the beginning of the 365 years. at the crucifixion, it may mean that he was looking forward to the historical confirmation of the prophecy during his latter years. In C. Gal. 213 A Jul. says Jesus was a subject of Caesar 'a little more' than 300 years ago; and in 191 D-E, he says Jesus has not been known for much more than 300 years. However, these are references to Jesus' adult life, and (as noted) ancient writers often give round figures.

¹³⁹ See Ammianus XXII.12.1 for Julian's preparations for the Persian campaign long before arriving in Antioch; and we know also that en route to Antioch he made vows to the Magna Mater (XXII.9.8). On the imperial *vota suscepta* or *soluta*, the best work is Mattingly 1950, pp. 155–156; and for Julian's coinage, *Id.*, 1951, pp. 237–238 and notes 100–102, especially p. 238, no. 87: the OBV: a bust of Julian diademed and draped; the REV: VOT X MVL T XX.

¹⁴⁰ For the early date see Brock 1977, p. 283; and Griffith 1987, p. 238. Blanchetière 1980, p. 63, n. 11, argues for a later date.

¹⁴¹ Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 115.

¹⁴² Cf. Bowersock 1978, p. 10; Griffith 1987, p. 258; Lieu 1989, p. 103; for the Hym. c. Jul. see p. 7, n. 22 above.

for their quality of details and sequential accuracy and reveal that Ephrem is an early and accurate witness to important events related to Julian's reign.¹⁴³

Passages that refer either to the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple¹⁴⁴ or to Julian's being motivated by oracles,¹⁴⁵ using either forms of the verb ܡܣܚ (to consult an oracle) or the noun ܡܫܚ (oracle) merit our attention.¹⁴⁶ After noting Julian's restoration of pagan worship and surrounding the *blessed flock* ܕܚܒܐ ܕܚܒܐ,¹⁴⁷ Ephrem uses the word ܐܘܢܐ¹⁴⁸ to denote heretics¹⁴⁹ who allied themselves with Julian in the *middle of the winter*.¹⁵⁰ Because the Jews are mentioned in I.16 f., we may take both groups together as supporters of Julian. In I.7.3 a secret (ܐܝܢ)¹⁵¹ conference is mentioned. The Syriac word means *secret*, *mystery*, or *symbol*, and in I.10.1 we are told that this took place in ܫܒܬ (Shebat), or from February new moon to that of March.¹⁵² We have noted above that the best date for this meeting is February/March 363.

The mention of *thistles* (ܡܥܬܐ)¹⁵³ who sprang up with the tares refers to Jews because in I.15.1 Ephrem says that the Church alone now opposed the emperor:

ܕܐܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

For it was only the church that was entirely against him.

In I.16.1–2 we are informed for the first of *fifteen times* in the hymns of the influence of oracles upon imperial policies:

¹⁴³ Cf. (e.g.) I.7.3–6 (his alliance with the Jews); I.18.4 (opposing the churches); III.3.1 (Persian dominance of Nisibis for thirty years); III.11.2 (Jul. discloses his paganism late); III.14.1–2 (Jul. died by a spear); III.15.5 (burning ships in Persia); IV.1–2 (the Daphne oracle event); IV.4.1–6 (death of Jul.'s uncle); IV.8.6 (Jul.'s Helios worship); IV.18.1–3 (earthquakes destroy Palestinian cities). Other examples: Julian is called an apostate at the beginning of the Hymns (I.1.3), after which the edict to restore pagan temples is mentioned (I.4.3). In I.16.3–17.6 we find the only references to Julian's bull coinage found in an ancient text (cf. Bowersock 1978, pp. 9 f.). The emperor's deceiving Constantius (II.1.3), wearing a beard like a Nazirite (II.5.5), involvement in the cult of Cybele (II.6.1–6), and abstaining from remarrying after his wife's death (II.9.3) are then noted. Ephrem describes viewing the corpse of the emperor and the Persian flag flying over Nisibis (III.1–3).

¹⁴⁴ I.16–20; II.3; II.7.2; IV.18–25.

¹⁴⁵ I.16.2; II.2.1; II.4.2; II.9.4; II.10.1; II.12.2; II.13.1–2; III.9.5; III.14.3; III.15.2; III.17.5; IV.14.3; IV.21.2; IV.25.2; IV.26.2.

¹⁴⁶ For the Syriac: Smith 1976.

¹⁴⁷ I.2.4 and I.4.

¹⁴⁸ I.4.5.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Beck 1957, p. 65, n. 5 and p. 79; and McVey 1989, p. 228, n. 30.

¹⁵⁰ I.5.3.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Beck 1957: "Wie auf geheime."; Lieu 1989: "by secret agreement;" and McVey 1989: "As if by a mystery."

¹⁵² Beck 1957, p. 66, n.9, was puzzled by this chronological language in the hymn.

¹⁵³ I.10.3.

The people raved and raged and blew the trumpets. They were glad that he was a diviner and were exultant because he was a Chaldean.

Commenting on Daniel 11:34f., Jerome asserts that some Jews applied these verses to Julian:

Socrates says that during the time of Julian's order to rebuild the Temple and while preparations were being made, Cyril the bishop of Jerusalem predicted, according to Daniel's prophecy, that the time had come in which one stone would not be left on the other, and Jesus' prophecy about the Temple would be fulfilled.¹⁵⁸ John Chrysostom, uses the same methods of interpreting Daniel and the Gospels on the subject of the Temple,¹⁵⁹ and we find similar expositions of Daniel in Ephrem.¹⁶⁰ The eschatological passages

¹⁵⁴ See Seaver 1978, pp. 275 f., for a Syriac text written by an Edessan monk *c.* AD 502–32, which depicts a meeting between Julian and certain Jews at Tarsus during his trip to Antioch *c.* June–July 362, telling us that the Jews were blowing trumpets as they approached the emperor.

¹⁵⁵ I.16.2.

¹⁵⁶ McVey 1989, p. 232, n. 54.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Harnack CC Frag. no. 43A–X.

¹⁵⁸ HE 3.20.

¹⁵⁹ J. Chrysostom, Comm. in Psalm. 110.4a; Adv. Jud. 5.1.6 on Lk. 21.24 and Mt. 24.9; 5.3.13; 5.4.1 (the Temple will never be rebuilt); 5.6.6; 5.7.1 (Dan. foretold events with the greatest accuracy); 5.7.4–5; 5.9.1–6 (Dan. and Christ agree on Temple's destruction); 5.10.1–7 (Dan. 9, Mt. 24.15, and Lk. 21.20 all agree). See also Brock 1977, p. 267; Lewy 1983, p. 73, gives evidence from Eus., DE.

¹⁶⁰ *E.g.*, IV.20.5.

A peculiar question occurs in III.9.4: *ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܐܩܠܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ*. (“Where is that oracle that gave him confidence?”). Does the demonstrative pronoun *ܐܘܪܐܩܠܐ* refer to a *particular oracle*, which promised victory in Persia? Or should we rather take it to mean, according to III.8.3, that Julian was assured of paganism’s victory over Christianity, for in III.10–17, the context of the question, Ephrem stresses the exact opposite, Christ’s victory over paganism? The reference to one anti-Christian oracle is significant and coheres with the composite picture derived from the pagan and Christian literary evidence concerning Julian’s intense preoccupation with oracles during the period (late 362–May 363).

In Hym. c. Jul. III.14.3–5, Julian is depicted recalling, during a ritual of extispicy in Persia, what he had written about his plans after he returned from the war, and this relates to II.9.5–II.10.5 noted above. In III.17.5 the *flock of the one who consults oracles* (*ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ*) was destroyed in the wilderness by Christ. Julian is then compared to Ahab because both were deceived by false prophets.¹⁷¹ In IV.8.5 Julian’s love for Chaldaean theology is mentioned, and an allusion is made to consulting oracles in I.14.3 (*ܕܡܠܚܬܐ*), then the rebuilding of the Temple is noted.¹⁷² After acknowledging that earthquakes stopped the reconstruction,¹⁷³ we are told why, Daniel prophesied that the Temple would not be rebuilt.¹⁷⁴ In IV.21.2 we read: *ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܡܬܐ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ*. (“They were convinced that the aberration of the one who consulted oracles would gather her.”) The Jews believed that the aberration (*ܡܡܬܐ*) of the one who consulted oracles (*ܕܡܠܚܬܐ*) would gather her (Jerusalem) together. Finally, in IV.22.6 we find an echo of the intentions, which Julian expressed in Ep. 51 noted above of sacrificing at the Temple after the Persian War:

ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

“He will enter to offer sacrifices in you, to pour out a drink offering to his demons in you.”

Scholars have for a long time now acknowledged the historical importance of St Ephrem’s *Hymni contra Julianum* for certain events surrounding Julian’s reign. Ephrem no less than fifteen times mentions the influence of

¹⁷¹ IV.5.3.

¹⁷² IV.18.5–6; and IV.19.2.

¹⁷³ IV.20.1–4.

¹⁷⁴ IV.20.5–6; IV.23.102. On Ephrem and Daniel see (e.g.) Griffith 1987, p. 251. He is surprised that Ephrem never refers to Jesus’ prophecy (Mt. 24.2), but if there was Porphyrian influence upon the emperor (See below), Ephrem’s preoccupation with Daniel, and silence of the Gospels is logical. On the conflicting stories about how the rebuilding stopped see, in addition to Ephrem: Amm. XXIII.1.3; J. Chrysostom, Adv. Jud. 5.11.9; Hom. in Psalm. CX 5; S. Bab. 22; Hom. IV in Matt. 1.17; Dem. 16.9; Soc., HE 3.20; Ambrose, Ep. 40.12; Ruf., HE 2.38 (PL 21.506); Greg. Naz., Or. 5.3–8; Soz., HE 5.22.5–10; Theod., HE 3.20.6–7; Philostorgius, HE 7.9; Lieu 1989; Levenson 1990; Cansdale 1996–97.

oracles upon the emperor's policies, and at least twelve concern either the pagan-Christian conflict or the Jewish temple. He evidently had access to sources very similar to those of other writers, both pagan and Christian, which stressed the emperor's fanatical interest in oracles.¹⁷⁵ References to a secret conference with Jews, probably attended by heretical Christians, and the preoccupation with defending the prophetic-eschatological interpretation of Daniel, chronologically support the view that the Shebat meeting occurred in 363, and not a year earlier as some scholars have argued. The mention of one particular anti-Christian oracle that motivated Julian to go against the Christians upon his return from Persia is similar to the same testimony found in Gregory's *Invectives*. It is thus reasonable to conclude that the remark that oracles convinced Julian that Christianity should be destroyed after the Persian War is based upon historical reality.

V. Porphyrian Influence on Julian?

It is indisputable that Iamblichean Neoplatonism influenced Julian's religious philosophy,¹⁷⁶ and the same can be said about Chaldaean theology, specifically theurgy and oracles.¹⁷⁷ Yet the Porphyrian influence upon his anti-Christian thought is still relatively *terra incognita*.¹⁷⁸ Some scholars have maintained that the disciple of Plotinus may have influenced Julian especially in his anti-Christian arguments,¹⁷⁹ and Barnes has recently suggested that the emperor attempted to put the *Contra Christianos* (CC) back into circulation after Constantine's earlier edict that ordered its destruction.¹⁸⁰ And although Julian places Porphyry among those Platonic authors whom he has read along with Plato, Plotinus, and Iamblichus,¹⁸¹ we must

¹⁷⁵ E.g., Ammianus, Libanius, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Socrates, Sozomen, Ambrose, and Theodoret.

¹⁷⁶ For Jul.'s conversion to Neoplatonism and influence from Iamblichus and Maximus, see Jul., Ep. 12; Amm. Marc. XXI.2.3–4; Lib., Or. XVIII.18; Eunap., Vit. Phil. 473–5; Soc., HE 3.1; Soz., HE 5.2; Theod., HE 3.1; Ephrem, Hym. c. Jul. I.16; and Lewy 1983, pp. 84 f. Cf. Shaw 1985, pp. 1–28.

¹⁷⁷ See Alonso-Núñez, 1973, pp. 179–85; Balty 1974, pp. 267–9; Browning 1976, pp. 51–62; Fouquet 1981, p. 197; Saffrey 1981, pp. 209–25; Penati 1983, pp. 543–62; Marcone 1984, pp. 1046–52; and Athanassiadi 1992, p. 136.

¹⁷⁸ There is no evidence which suggests that Iamblichus wrote any anti-Christian books. Therefore, though he exerted positive influence upon the pagan religious thought of Julian, Porphyry is the best possible source by far for the influence upon the emperor's anti-Christian arguments during the period analysed here.

¹⁷⁹ E.g., Geffcken, Lewy, Demarolle, Masaracchia, and Smith.

¹⁸⁰ Barnes 1994, p. 54; cf. also Geffcken 1978, p. 154; Lewy 1983, p. 71; Demarolle 1986, p. 43; Masaracchia 1990, p. 15; and Smith 1995, pp. 40, 191, and 206.

¹⁸¹ Jul., Or. 7.222B *To the Cynic Heracleios*, proving that he had read some works by Porphyry. The question remains now, which ones?

now investigate, which Porphyrian works may have influenced him, particularly in the area of anti-Christian oracles and any connection they may have had with the order to rebuild the Temple in 363.

Porphyry (died *c.* 305) was the greatest anti-Christian writer in antiquity, and even a century after Arnobius, the first Christian who wrote against him, he was still the most respected of the Greek philosophers in Augustine's day.¹⁸² It would certainly be rash to discount the possible influence that Porphyry's two anti-Christian works, the *Philosophia ex oraculis* and the *Contra Christianos*, might have had on Julian's imperial policies vis-à-vis Christianity, for we can be fairly certain that Porphyry attended the conference in 302 convened by Diocletian to formulate strategy for launching the persecution which began in February 303 in Nicomedia, and this appears to have caused Diocletian to disseminate the Phil. or. throughout parts of the empire before promulgating the first edict against the Christians.¹⁸³ If it is true that Julian attempted not only to revive Hellenic religious cults, but was also "particularly concerned about the recovery of the oracles,"¹⁸⁴ it is reasonable to assume that the Phil. or. and CC might have conceptually stimulated Julian to formulate a more aggressive policy against the Christians by the winter of 362–3. Before writing the C.Gal. in Antioch during this time, in his *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, written in 362, Julian refers to a philosophical work by Porphyry on the *sacred rites*, which he had not read.¹⁸⁵ This is most probably an allusion to the Phil. or. In the following paragraphs, however, I hope to show that by the time Julian had finished the C.Gal. before the end of winter 362–3, there is evidence strongly suggesting that (1) Julian had acquired a copy of the Phil. or. and the CC; (2) a number of Porphyry's anti-Christian oracles were beginning to influence his policies; (3) several of Porphyry's arguments were incorporated into the C.Gal.; and (4) anti-Christian oracles from Phil. or. may have been the primary motivation for the order to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

During the period of January-late July 362, Julian wrote three epistles that might help to identify when and from whom he acquired Porphyry's writings. In Epistle 107 (*c.* Jan. 362) to Ecdicius the Prefect of Egypt, Julian ordered a search made for the library of George, the bishop of Alexandria who was slain in December 361. Writing from Constantinople to his uncle Julian in April 362, the emperor complains that he does not have so much as a pamphlet on philosophy, rhetoric, or history.¹⁸⁶ By late July, he wrote to

¹⁸² See Simmons 1995, pp. 22–46. And *Id* 2002, for Porphyry's biblical criticism.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Gregory 1983, p. 364.

¹⁸⁵ V.161C.

¹⁸⁶ Ep. 80.

a certain Porphyrius from Antioch again ordering George's library to be sent *immediately* because it contained many books by philosophers, historians, and the Galilaeans.¹⁸⁷ John Chrysostom refers to philosophers who wrote against the Christians whose works had perished by his day, adding that if any are preserved they are found exclusively in the libraries of Christians.¹⁸⁸ We can assume that it was not different in Julian's time, after Constantine's proscriptions against Porphyry's CC, and therefore a possible source for Porphyry's works was George's library, which could have arrived in Antioch *c.* late 362. It is highly probable that these books (and others) might have helped him to do research during the winter 362–3 when he was writing the *Caesares*, *Misopogon*, and the *Contra Galilaeos*.¹⁸⁹ The anti-Christian works of Porphyry would have given him immediate access to well developed arguments written by a famous Neoplatonic philosopher.¹⁹⁰

The crucial question now is whether there is clear evidence of Porphyrian influence on the anti-Christian thought of the emperor during this time. In answering this we first observe, as noted above, that a change in imperial policies towards the Christians from one of reserved tolerance to a more overt hostility came about during this period,¹⁹¹ and this may reflect influence from Porphyry who argued that Christianity should be a capital offense.¹⁹² This is not to say that Julian needed Porphyry to develop anti-Christian policies, but he certainly could have added fuel to the fires of the increasing hostility that Julian was assuming towards the church.

The rejection of the incarnation and the refusal to accept Jesus as anything but a man is central to the polemics of the C.Gal. and has conceptual parallels with the Hecatean oracle in Phil. or. quoted by Augustine and

¹⁸⁷ Ep. 106.

¹⁸⁸ S. Bab. II.

¹⁸⁹ See Smith 1995, pp. 191 and 276, n. 54, who suggests that George's library may have provided Jul. with such works. But note also Jul., Ep. 86, *To Theodora*, a pagan priestess, dated sometime in 362, referring to books sent to him by her, and it is possible that some might have been Porphyry's. On George's murder see Amm. XXII.11.3–11; Soc., HE 3.2–3; Soz., HE 5.7; and Fowden 1978, pp. 59 f.

¹⁹⁰ I am not saying here that Julian had *never* been familiar with the works of Porphyry until the winter of 362–3, and the fact that in Ep. 107 he notes that George had loaned him some of his books to copy years earlier when he was in Cappadocia (and he returned them), may imply that he indeed had read Porphyry's works at that time. George was not the only source, only a highly probable one, but the main point is Julian's own statement in Ep. 80, *c.* April 362 from Constantinople, that he had very few books at all on philosophy, rhetoric, *etc.*, and later, during the winter 362–3 when he was writing the *Caesares*, *Misopogon*, and the *Contra Galilaeos* while also planning the Persian campaign, sources from George's library may have helped him to refresh his memory on the fine points of his anti-Christian argument and thus prepare these works during this intensely busy time.

¹⁹¹ See note 25 above.

¹⁹² C.C. (Harnack 1916, Frag. 1) in Eus., PE I.2.1 ff.

Eusebius.¹⁹³ In Ep. 90 to the heretic Photinus, written in the winter of 362–3, Julian rejects the incarnation and calls Christian doctrine a creed of *country folk* (agrestis), which should be compared with *rusticani* as a description for Christians found in the CC.¹⁹⁴ Diodorus the orthodox Christian is called a corrupter of *legum et rationum*, which recalls the emphasis Porphyry placed upon respecting ancestral customs.¹⁹⁵ Julian next states that Diodorus' God (Jesus) has been stripped of the divinity falsely ascribed to him by his humiliating death and burial. This not only recalls Apollo's oracle in the Phil. or. which described Jesus' hideous death on the cross as the most humiliating,¹⁹⁶ but also Augustine's comment after quoting Porphyry's oracle, that anyone who accepts Jesus only as a man is a Photinian heretic.¹⁹⁷ Owing to his knowledge of the difference between Nicene and Arian Christology,¹⁹⁸ and the conciliatory remarks that he makes about those heretics who reject the deity of Christ, it is possible that before the Persian campaign, Julian might have been forming an alliance with certain groups of heretics to attack the orthodox Nicene churches in the East.¹⁹⁹

In addition to calling Christianity a disease;²⁰⁰ questioning the late arrival of Jesus in history;²⁰¹ arguing that Christianity offers no soteriological benefits similar to those of Hellenism;²⁰² and complaining that Jesus taught

¹⁹³ Aug., Civ. Dei 19.23, 345aF (Smith 1993) (LCL: Greene); Eus., DE 3.7 345F (Smith 1993) (PG 22.263 f.). The Latin and Greek texts are in Simmons 1995, Appendix I, p. 328. Cf. Jul. (e.g.), Ep. 47; C.Gal. 159E; 206A; 213A; 213B–C; 253C; 290E; 333D; 335B; cf. Lib. in Theod., HE 3.18, who calls Jesus the carpenter's son; Fouquet 1981, p. 200; Meredith 1980, pp. 1146; Ugenti 1992, pp. 391–404, pp. 395 f.; 402; and Smith 1995, pp. 201–4.

¹⁹⁴ Porph., CC in Jerome, Hom. 14 in Psalmo 81 = Harn. CC Frag. no. 4. See Simmons 1995, p. 245.

¹⁹⁵ E.g., Porph., Ad Marc. 18. See Simmons 1995, p. 24.

¹⁹⁶ Porph., Phil. or. in Aug., Civ. Dei 19.23, 345aF (Smith 1993).

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* See Demarolle 1986, p. 42.

¹⁹⁸ F. Jul., Ep. 115 *To Hecebolius* 362. The Arian Eusebius of Nicomedia was a teacher of Jul. in his youth. See Bowersock 1978, 23 f.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. C.Gal. 206A, defending heretics persecuted simply because they do not "wail over the corpse" as the orthodox do. Fouquet 1981, p. 201, suggests Jul. may have utilised certain Arians to attack the orthodox in the East. Cf. also Ephrem, Hym. c. Jul. I.4.5, noted in Section IV above, indicating that he was forming an alliance with Jews and Christian heretics to go against orthodox Christians.

²⁰⁰ Porphyry, Phil. or. in Aug., Civ. Dei 19.23, 343F (Smith 1993): Apollonian oracle depicting a Christian woman with mental delusions because she worships Jesus as God; cf. Jul., Ep. 61c, *Rescript on Christian Teachers* (Galilaeans to be treated like the insane); Ep. 114 *To the Bostrians* (Christianity is a disease); cf. Ep. 98 *To Libanius*; Or. 7.229D, *To the Cynic Henacleios*, refers to his conversion from Christianity as being cured of a malady; C.Gal. 327B (Christianity is an infectious disease because of the belief in the incarnation; cf. Ep. 89a *To Theodorus*; Smith 1995, p. 209).

²⁰¹ Porphyry, CC in Aug., Ep. 102.8 *To Deogratias* (Harnack CC Frag. no. 81), on which see Simmons 1995, pp. 62f.; cf. Jul., C.Gal. 106C; also Porph., De reg. an. Bk. I in Aug., Civ. Dei 10.32.

²⁰² Hellenic soteriology and the salvific benefits of the oracles were central to the Phil. or., and important to the CC according to Eus., PE 5.1 (= Harnack CC Frag. no. 80). Cf. the

something totally different from his disciples²⁰³ — all of which reveal Porphyrian influence — Julian's praise of the Hebrews, and the apparent change in his attitude toward Hebrew prophecy may correspond chronologically with a possible acquisition of the Phil. or. by early 363. This held the Jews who condemned Jesus, as well as the Jewish God, in high esteem.²⁰⁴ Moreover, after quoting an Apollonian oracle from the Phil. or., Augustine laments the fact that Porphyry preferred the Jews to the Christians.²⁰⁵

Porphyry's works were also important to Julian because in them there was an attempt made to disprove the prophetic and eschatological basis of Daniel and N.T. passages from the Gospels like Matthew 24.²⁰⁶ Porphyry dated Daniel in the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes the Seleucid king of Syria (175–163 BC), almost four centuries after the date given by Christian writers.²⁰⁷ What the latter called prophecies the Neoplatonic scholar argued were *vaticinia ex eventu*.²⁰⁸ In his commentary Jerome refers to Porphyry's criticism of Daniel and N.T. passages like Matthew 24:1–2, which attempted to undermine the Christian prophetic-eschatological interpretation of these biblical texts. It is reasonable to suggest that Julian's study of Porphyry's works during the winter of 362–3 would have philosophically provided him with the hermeneutical and exegetical basis, which consequently inspired him with a mystical awareness that now was the time to rebuild the Temple, the completion of which could symbolise to the world the falsity not only of the Olivet Discourse (e.g., Mt. 24:2), but also derogate any Christian claims to a unique revelation.²⁰⁹ The Phil. or. would

Preface to Phil. or. in Eus., PE 4.7, 303F (Smith 1993); and Jul., Ep. III *To the Alexandrians* (Nov. 362): mankind prospers from worship of Helios, not Jesus.

²⁰³ In Porph., Phil. or. (Aug., Civ. Dei 19.23; 343F; 344F; 345aF; 346F (Smith 1993), the Hecatean oracle drives a wedge of credibility between Jesus and his disciples. The latter are misguided men who taught something different from Jesus, an argument found often in the C.Gal.: (e.g.) 194C; 206A; 327A.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Lewy 1983, p. 848: Jul.'s concept of the Jewish High God derives from Greek philosophy and Chaldaean oracles. Lewy (p. 95) is one of the few scholars who makes the connection between Porphyry's praise of the Hebrews in Civ. dei 10.23 and Julian.

²⁰⁵ Aug., Civ. Dei 19.23; 343F; 344F; 345aF; 346F (Smith 1993); cf. Lact., De ira 23.12.

²⁰⁶ For Daniel see (e.g.) Anastos 1966, pp. 421–50; Casey 1976, pp. 15–33; *Id.* 1990, pp. 139–42; Ferch 1982, pp. 141–7; Beatrice 1993, pp. 27–45; and *Id.* 1997, pp. 54–9. For Julian's knowledge of scripture see Bouffartigue 1992, pp. 114–7 and Appendix II, pp. 683 f.; Demarolle 1986, p. 44, gives 180 references to scripture in the C.Gal. The CC of Porphyry could have supplied Julian with a well developed pagan argument against Christian scripture.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Harn. CC Frag. no. 43A = Jer., Comm. in Dan., Prolog.

²⁰⁸ See Lewy 1983, pp. 72 f., for good discussion. Cf. also Demarolle 1986, p. 43.

²⁰⁹ It is clear in the C.Gal. that Jul. is attempting to destroy the scriptural basis of Christian claims to a unique revelation in order to dismantle the argument of *fulfilled prophecy* popular in Christian apologetics in the first centuries of the Church's history. See (e.g.) C.Gal. 39B (Christianity has nothing divine in it.); 253 B–E (Moses did not prophesy about Jesus.), quoting Deut. 4:35; 4:39; 6:4; 32:39. C.Gal. also attempts to show that the O.T. Messianic

have also provided Julian's attempt to revive Hellenism with an eminent *prophetic voice* (Porphyry) and a secure soterio-eschatological foundation for what appears to have been a developing pagan scripture. The following list illustrates the many ways in which Porphyry's *Philosophia ex oraculis* might have inspired the emperor during the winter of 362–3:

1. A writing containing anti-Christian oracles by a prominent Neoplatonic philosopher. (E.g., Phil. or. in Eus., DE 3.7; and Aug., Civ. Dei 19.23)
2. Julian believed that philosophy was ordained by the Pythian oracle. Phil. or. would have given him a philosophical basis for reviving and restructuring Hellenism.²¹⁰
3. The Phil. or. contained oracles which spoke favorably of the Jews. These may have inspired Julian to change his mind about Hebrew prophecy, and the Jews in general, before the Persian War.²¹¹
4. Phil. or. upheld animal sacrifices which were central to Julian's religious philosophy.²¹²
5. Phil. or. encouraged temple worship and ritual, which was again central to Julian's program.²¹³
6. Phil. or. contained oracles which proclaimed that Jesus was not God, only a man.²¹⁴
7. Phil. or. taught that there was a great disparity between the teaching of Jesus and his disciples.²¹⁵

prophecies cannot be applied to Jesus: 261E; 262 B–D (Virgin Birth not predicted by Isaiah); 262E (Hebrew prophets were monotheists: Jesus was not God.); 276E (Theotokos concept rejected); 276E–277A; 290 C–D; 291 A (Moses did not receive revelation about the *only begotten Word*.); 320 B (Moses and Paul contradict each other.); 327 A–C (John fabricated the Logos doctrine).

²¹⁰ Cf. Jul., Or. 6.191 A–B *To the Uneducated Cynics*.

²¹¹ Cf. Porph., Phil. or. in Aug., Civ. dei 19.23; 343F; 344F; 345aF; 346F (Smith 1993), after quoting an Apollonian oracle, Aug. says: "Tali oraculo dei sui Apollinis Porphyrius tam magnum Deum dixit Hebraeorum ut eum et ipsa numina perhorrescant."

²¹² Contradicting works like *De abstinentia*, which rejected animal sacrifices. Cf. Porph., Phil. or. in Aug., Civ. Dei 19.23; 343F; 344F; 345aF; 346F (Smith 1993); the lengthy Greek Apollonian oracle from Phil. or. in Eus., PE 4.9; and the comments of Bradbury 1995, p. 332, n. 3.

²¹³ See (e.g.) Porph., Phil. or. in Eus., 314 F (PE IV.8.4–9.2); 315 F (PE IV.9.3–7); 316 F (PE V.10.13–11.1); 317 F (PE V.12.1–2); 318 F (PE V.13.1–2); 321 F (PE V.14.4–15.4); 323 F (PE IX.10.1–2); 324 F (PE IX.10.3–5); 326 F (PE IV.22.15–23.6); 328 F (PE IV.23.7–9); 347 F (PE V.6–8.7) (all from Smith, 1993). These teach about sacrifices, libations, incense, fruit offerings, prayers, and other matters related to Greek temple worship, all of which could have offered much inspiration for Julian's new Hellenism.

²¹⁴ See n. 112 above.

²¹⁵ See Porphyry's Hecatean Oracle in Aug., Civ. Dei 19.23; 343F; 344F; 345aF; 346F (Smith 1993); cf. C.Gal. 351A–354B, showing disparity between Jesus' teaching and that of Paul and Peter.

8. The religious imagery found in Phil. or. could easily be incorporated into Julian's Helios worship.²¹⁶
9. Phil. or. may have been perceived by pagans as a Hellenic scripture based on divine revelation which could have been used as a source of authority for reviving oracle sites, the rebuilding of temples, and providing inspiration for an official state persecution of Christianity. A Roman emperor consulted heaven before making these kinds of important decisions.²¹⁷
10. Phil. or. could help to foster an alliance between pagans, Jews, and heretics (e.g., Photinus). Note that the two previous builders of the temple (Cyrus and Herod) were inspired by prophecy.²¹⁸
11. The Phil. or. attempted to offer a *via salutis* while at the same time asserting that Christianity offered no soteriological benefits. (Cf. Eus., PE 5.1 = Porph., CC [= Harn. CC Frag. no. 80]; and PE 4.7).

VI. Libanius

On the pagan polemical argument which rejected the deity of Christ (No. 6 above), a passage in Libanius' Funeral Oration to Julian may shed light on Porphyrian conceptual and methodological influence upon Julian, and it reveals that he was reading the Phil. or. in the winter of 362–3:

τοῦ χειμῶνος δὲ τὰς νύκτας ἐκτείνοντος ἄνευ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἐτέρων λόγων ἐπιθέμενος ταῖς βίβλοις αἱ τὸν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἄνθρωπον θεόν τε καὶ θεοῦ παῖδα ποιοῦσι, μάχη τε μακρᾶ καὶ ἐλέγχων ἰσχυρὴ γέλωτα ἀποφύνας καὶ φλήναφον τὰ τιμώμενα σοφώτερος ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέδεικται τοῦ Τυρίου γέροντος. ἕως δὲ οὗτος ὁ Τύριος εἶη καὶ δέχοιτο γε εὐμενῶς τὸ ῥηθέν, ὥς ἂν ὑέος ἡττώμενος. (Libanius, Or. XVIII.178: LCL, Norman, I: 396)

It is clear that Libanius is comparing the polemical methods found in the anti-Christian works of Porphyry and Julian solely on the subject of the Christian doctrine of the deity of Christ, and therefore not making a comprehensive assessment of both authors as a whole. The reference to prolonged winter nights (τοῦ χειμῶνος δὲ τὰς νύκτας ἐκτείνοντος) chronologically coheres with the winter of 362–3, during which time, I suggest, Julian was reading Porphyrian polemical texts, particularly the *Philosophia ex oraculis*, as he prepared the *Contra Galilaeos*. Libanius' statement that Julian

²¹⁶ Cf. Parke 1985, p. 92, who lists Porphyry's oracle (dated after 250) in Eus., PE 5.16, which refers to the eye of the illuminating sun. Jul. may have found this inspirational for his Helios worship.

²¹⁷ Porph. certainly believed that the Phil. or. was divinely inspired; cf. Arn., Adv. Nat. 1.1; and Porph., Phil. or. in Eus., PE 4.6–9, 303F (PE IV.6.2–7.2); 304F (PE IV.7.2–8.1; and 305F (PE IV.8.2), (Smith 1993).

²¹⁸ For Cyrus see Jos., Jew. Ant. XI.5–7; and for Herod, Id., Jos. Ant. XV.378, giving the story of the Essene prophet Manaeus.

was wiser (σοφώτερος) than Porphyry (τοῦ Τυρίου γέροντος ... ὁ Τύριος...) cannot be taken comprehensively because the phrase ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέδεικται can logically refer only to the sole doctrinal theme addressed in Or. XVIII.178, which is the deity of Christ (ἐπιθέμενος ταῖς βίβλοις αἱ τὸν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἄνθρωπον θεόν τε καὶ θεοῦ παῖδα ποιοῦσι).

Libanius is thus expressing admiration for the polemical method by which Julian extuperated this Christian doctrine, proving it to be ridiculous and idle chattering (μάχη τε μακροῦ καὶ ἐλέγχων ἰσχύι γέλωτα ἀποφύνας καὶ φλήγαφον), and *on this subject* he showed himself wiser than the Tyrian (σοφώτερος ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέδεικται τοῦ Τυρίου γέροντος.); whereas Porphyry's polemical method possessed a more (apparently) conciliatory approach towards Christ, who, though he was not accepted as *deus*, nonetheless was still called *piissimum* by the oracle of Hecate.²¹⁹

Libanius undoubtedly perceived Porphyry as attempting to incorporate Jesus into Graeco-Roman polytheism, and concluded that Julian's overtly hostile attack upon the central doctrines of Christianity was much more successful because it revealed how ridiculously false they actually were. The *Philosophia ex oraculis* is, based upon extant evidence,²²⁰ the only anti-Christian work of Porphyry in which, although the deity of Christ is certainly rejected, it is nonetheless not ridiculed as idle chatter; and the soul of Christ is given a place in heaven with God after his death.²²¹

²¹⁹ Praeter opinionem, inquit, profecto quibusdam videatur esse quod dicturi sumus. Christum enim dii piissimum pronuntiaverunt et inmortalem factum et cum bona praedicatione eius meminerunt; Christianos vero pollutos, inquit, et contaminatos et errore implicatos esse dicunt et multis talibus adversus eos blasphemii utuntur. Deinde subicit velut oracula deorum blasphemantium Christianos et post haec: De Christo autem, inquit, interrogantibus si est Deus, ait Hecate: Quoniam quidem immortalis anima post corpus incedit, nosti; a sapientia eutem abscisa semper errat. Viri pietate praestantissimi est illa anima; hanc colunt aliena a se veritate. Deinde post verba huius quasi oraculi sua ipse contexens: Piissimum igitur virum, inquit, eum dixit et eius animam, sicut et aliorum piorum, post obitum immortalitate dignatam et hanc colere Christianos ignorantes. Interrogantibus autem, inquit: Cur ergo damnatus est? oraculo respondit dea: Corpus quidem debilitantibus tormentis semper oppositum est; anima autem piorum caelesti sedi insidet. Illa vero anima aliis animabus fataliter dedit, quibus fata non adnuerunt deorum dona obtinere neque habere Iovis immortalis agnitionem, errore implicari. Propterea ergo diis exosi, quia, quibus fato non fuit nosse Deum nec dona ab diis accipere, his fataliter dedit iste errore implicari. Ipse vero pius et in caelum, sicut pii, concessit. Itaque hunc quidem non blasphemabis, misereris autem hominum dementiam; ex eo in eis facile praecepsque periculum. (Augustine, Civ. Dei 19.23 345aF (Smith 1993); LCL: Greene).

²²⁰ Harnack's *Contra Christianos* Fragments nos. 48 (= M. Magnes, Apocriticus III.18); 62 (Apocr. III.2); 63 (Apocr. III.1); and 77 (Apocr. IV.22) do indeed address the divinity of Jesus, but it is not certain whether these are direct quotations from Porphyry, or simply summaries given by the adversary whom M. Magnes is attacking. Harnack C.C. Fragment no. 84, from Methodius, Κατὰ Πορφύριον (Bonwetsch, pp. 345 f.) appears to be genuinely Porphyrian, but it primarily denounces the notion of a divine being suffering death by crucifixion.

²²¹ Civ. dei 19.23. For the historical background see Simmons 2001 and Digeser 1998, 2000, and 2001.

Julian's polemical method in the C.Gal. was, as noted, blatantly hostile. Libanius is thus praising Julian for the overt acuity of his denunciation of Christ's deity, and on this subject (ἐν τοῖς ἀντοῖς) he is commended for being wiser than Porphyry. I would suggest, therefore, that Libanius, Or. XVIII.178, would lead us to conclude that during the Winter 362–3, Julian read the Phil. or., and opted for a different (overtly hostile) polemical methodology in attacking the central teachings of the Church, including the deity of Christ.

VII. Conclusions

I hope to have achieved the two goals expressed at the beginning of this study. First, there is indisputable literary evidence derived from pagan and Christian authors, which prove that oracles, some of which were anti-Christian in content, motivated Julian's policies during the critical period of late AD 362–early 363 more significantly than has been thought, and this sheds light on the reasons for an increasingly hostile imperial programme aimed at the Church.

Second, I have offered another plausible hypothesis to the list given above (p. 67 f.). The evidence suggests that Porphyry provided Julian with anti-Christian themes and personal prophetic inspiration during the critical winter of 362–3 while he was planning the Persian campaign, taking care of important imperial affairs, and writing several works including the *Contra Galilaeos*. He did not have the time to write an original work of his own against the Christians and thus had to rely upon other sources to construct his argument. Porphyry logically would have been the best anti-Christian source available. The oracular sites of the Roman Empire had become silent by Julian's time,²²² Julian failed in his attempt to revive them,²²³ and the last oracle at Delphi is attributed to him.²²⁴ Yet oracles certainly gave the emperor guidance in his personal and governmental affairs,²²⁵ and the most

²²² On the decline of the oracles in the late imperial period see Amandry 1950; Parke and Wormell 1956, vol. I, p. 288: most sites had become silent before Constantine's conversion; Balty 1974, p. 267, gives evidence from Apamea; Schatkin and Harkins 1983, p. 30, on S. Bab. 80 f.; Parke 1985, pp. 92, 111, and 169; and Levin 1989, p. 1618, n. 66. Cf. also nn. 91–92 *supra*.

²²³ Cf. Parke and Wormell 1956, vol. I, p. 290. Fontenrose 1978, p. 353, Q2633, argues that this is not genuine for unconvincing reasons.

²²⁴ Cf. Gregory 1983; and Parke and Wormell 1956, vol. II, p. 194, no. 476 (Philostorgius), an oracle of Delphi telling Oribasius, who was sent by Jul., that the prophetic spirit was quenched, clearly revealing that the emperor was told that the traditional oracles could not be revived. Lib., Or. XXIV.2 says the world is unhappier because the oracles are now silent. Jul. acknowledges this also in C.Gal. 106C and 198 B–C. The ubiquitous Asclepian oracles noted in C.Gal. 235C may be used in a literary sense and probably concern the recent past.

²²⁵ Although Jul. kept in his imperial chest the *Book of Oracles* during military campaigns (Lib., Or. XVIII.118), and consulted the Sibylline Books (Amm. XXV.2.7–8), the Phil. or.

reasonable source of these was Porphyry because some of the last oracles were found in his *Philosophia ex oraculis*.²²⁶ According to Ammianus and others, in making decisions Julian often preferred the interpretations of oracles (and other divinatory media) given by his Neoplatonic advisers to those of the traditional Etruscan soothsayers in his imperial entourage.²²⁷ What greater Neoplatonic adviser was available than the one who was highly revered as a collector of oracles, an eminent scholar, and the greatest anti-Christian writer in antiquity?

We may venture to suggest that in Julian's mind the rebuilt Temple in Jerusalem would have been a lasting concrete sign to memorialise the falsehood of Jesus' prophecies (Mt. 24, Mk. 13, Lk 21) *and* the truth of the Porphyrian oracle which predicted the abrupt end of Christianity 365 years after its beginning.²²⁸ Thus Neoplatonic anti-Christian prophecy, which formed the basis of Julian's attempt to revive paganism in the urban centers of the East, for the first time in the history of the pagan-Christian conflict would receive its own distinct, verifiable eschatology. This would have certainly, and most probably rapidly, facilitated the reversing of the Christianisation of the Roman Empire begun by Constantine, and go far to ensure the revival and triumph of traditional Hellenic religion, which was the cornerstone of the Julianic program. After the rebuilding of the Temple, it would have had the further benefit of demolishing the Christian hermeneutical method based on the fulfillment of O.T. prophecy which had been used for centuries in the church's confrontation with pagan culture. Like a row of dominos beginning to fall when the first one is struck, the argument was that if Jesus' prophecy about the Temple was false, how could any other Christian prophecy be true? It would certainly have required something

would still be the best source of oracles, especially of an anti-Christian content, accessible to him.

²²⁶ Porph.'s poem on Plotinus' soul in the Vit. Plot. 22 and the Pythian oracles found in Eus., PE 5.16, are good examples. Cf. Parke and Wormell 1956, vol. I, p. 288; and Parke 1985, p. 92.

²²⁷ Cf. Amm. XXIII.5.10–4; Zos., Hist. Nova 3.12; Soc., HE 3.21: Maximus' divinations influenced Jul., which Theod., HE 3.22 calls oracles; see Potter 1994, pp. 17 and 156; and Smith 1995, p. 8.

²²⁸ Noteworthy also is Julian's belief that *signs* in the form of concrete historical events or happenings must *follow* a prophecy in order to confirm its authenticity (C.Gal. 358E). For example, Julian says that Abraham, who was a Chaldaean theurgist, received signs concerning the future (C.Gal. 356D). Ammianus informs us that Julian was an expert in the discernment of such prophetic signs (XXI.1.6), and this is confirmed in the letter of March 10, 363 from the emperor to Libanius from Hierapolis (Ep. 98). Libanius (Or. XIII.48f.) states that because Julian established himself in place of the Pythia, he heard from the gods personally, and when the time was *ripe* began his enterprises always with the *end* in full view. Also, according to Iamblichean Neoplatonic theology, a prophecy was completed with the accompaniment of sacrifices (Cf. C.Gal. 358 D–E, commenting on Abraham), significant in light of the rebuilding of the Temple.

monumental of this nature — the rebuilding of the Temple and providing concrete historical evidence that Jesus' prophecy was not true — to reverse the Constantinian Revolution. The conflict between Christianity and paganism resurfaced during Julian's reign with a new perspective on the superiority of Hellenic concepts of prophetic revelation to the traditional Christian interpretations of prophetic biblical passages.

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Remarques sur quelques inscriptions nabatéennes du sud de la Jordanie

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Abstract

A survey carried out by the author in the region of Petra in 2003 has necessitated a re-examination of certain published Nabataean inscriptions. The following research aims to analyse five Nabataean inscriptions from the southern region of Jordan.

Introduction

Après la visite de Burckhardt de Pétra en 1812, la région est devenue le but d'une série des exploitations épigraphique méthodiques. Des centaines des textes nabatéens ont été relevés de Pétra et de la région Sud de la Jordanie. Un nombre assez considérable des inscriptions nabatéennes a été publié par les différents chercheurs au début de 19ème siècle. Outre le fait que certaines inscriptions ont été présentées brièvement, elles sont publiées dans des rapports préliminaires. Lors de notre recherche sur les inscriptions nabatéennes de la région sud de la Jordanie, nous avons estimé que certaines méritaient une nouvelle étude. Nous essayerons dans cette recherche à mettre en lumière quelques inscriptions nabatéennes de la région sud de la Jordanie.

Inscription n° 1

(Qasr al-Bint/ Pétra)

- Clermont-Gannau 1897, pp. 221–234

- CIS II 349
- Brünnow und Domaszewski 1904, p. 312
- Cantineau II 1932, pp.1-2

Transcription

- 1 [dnh š]lm' zy rb'l mlk n[b]ṭw
- 2 [br.....]t mlk nbṭw zy hqym lh
- 3br hymw zy rb' whdth
- 4byrḥ kslw zy hw šmr'
- 5[šnt] i8 lḥrtt mlk'

Traduction

- 1 [Ceci est la s]tatue de *Rabbēl* roi des Na[ba]téens,
- 2 [fils de.....]t roi des Nabatéens, qu'a érigée pour lui
- 3fils de hymw qui l'a agrandie et restaurée
- 4au mois kslw, qui est šmr'
- 5 [l'an] i8 d'Aretas le roi

Commentaire

C'est une inscription *votive*, constituée de cinq lignes. Les débuts de ces cinq lignes sont abîmés, ainsi que certains mots dans la première et la quatrième ligne.

Actuellement, l'inscription disparue de Petra donc nous nous servirons du fac-similé et photo pris par des anciennes publications.¹

Cette inscription est datée de l'an i8 d'Aretas, selon ce qui est mentionné dans la dernière ligne du texte lui-même. Le propriétaire de ce texte a mentionné qu'il a érigé une statue de Rabbēl «le roi des Nabatéens», et il l'a renouvelé (restauré) et agrandi.

Il est apparu dans cette inscription un problème historique: le roi Rabbēl est mentionné dans la première ligne; le mot mutilé au début de la deuxième ligne -mentionnant le nom du père de Rabbēl — n'apporte pas plus de précision sur l'identité exacte du roi Rabbēl. Deux hypothèses ont été proposées pour retrouver ce nom perdu. Cela peut être «*'bdt*» ou «*ḥrtt*». Ainsi, nous nous trouvons devant deux possibilités historiques, faisant toujours l'objet d'un débat — la chronologie nabatéenne étant une question en suspens.² Le «*t*» identifié à la fin de ce nom ne permet pas de trancher entre ces deux hypothèses.

¹ Cf. Cantineau II 1932, p. 2.

² La chronologie nabatéenne étant encore discutée, parmi les hypothèses formulées voir: Meshorer 1975; Wenning 1987, p. 13.

La lecture et la traduction de la troisième ligne ne sont pas encore établies. Parmi les lectures et les traductions proposées:

- CIS II 349:

.....br hym.ny rb' wḥdth

.....fils de hym.ny le grand et l'a renouvelée

Selon cette lecture le nom du père de l'offrant n'est pas certain, et le mot *rb'* est considéré comme adjectif de l'offrant, qui a élevé la statue.

- Cantineau:³

.....br hymnny rb' wḥdth

.....fils de hymnny le grand et l'a renouvelée

Cantineau propose d'interpréter *hymnny* comme un nom composé avec celui de la déesse Nani.

- Brünnow and Domaszewski⁴

.....b rhyrnny rb' wḥdth

.....b rhyrnny le grand et l'a renouvelée

Dans cet ouvrage, où sont regroupés les textes d'Euting, le nom est interprété comme un nom composé de deux éléments *rhyrn* et *nny* signifiant «aimé de Nani».

Pour la ligne concernée, nous proposons la lecture et la traduction suivantes:

.....br hymw zy rb' wḥdth

.....fils de hymw qui l'a glorifié et renouvelé

Ici, nous voyons un nom propre masculin *hymw*, c'est l'équivalent de l'arabe signifiant «nomade», est suivi du pronom relatif *zy*. Le *z* n'est pas clairement visible dans le texte, mais on peut facilement lire *z* à la place de *n*. *Cantineau* lui-même, dans son ouvrage,⁵ a indiqué la possibilité de lire cette lettre comme un *z* — bien qu'il l'ait lue aussi comme un *non*. En faveur de cette lecture, on peut signaler que le tiré inférieur de *n* n'a pas la même longueur que le *n* dans la première et la deuxième lignes.

Nous pensons aussi qu'il est plus vraisemblable de traduire le mot *rb'* par le verbe «agrandir» et non par l'adjectif «le grand». Cette hypothèse s'appuie sur deux arguments; d'une part, les offrandes sont considérées comme une affirmation de la puissance d'une divinité ou d'un roi par celui qui les offre, il n'est donc pas logique que l'offrant se donne lui-même un adjectif

³ Cf. Cantineau I 1932, pp. 1–2.

⁴ Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904, 312.

⁵ Cantineau II 1932, p. 2.

prestigieux comme «le grand», on s'attend plutôt à ce qu'il se présente de façon modeste.

D'autre part, le terme *rb'* a été également mentionné dans une autre inscription araméenne comme verbe signifiant «agrandir»;⁶ *rb'* est le verbe *rby* au *qal pf.* 2.s.m.⁷ Ce verbe est attesté avec la même forme et avec la même signification dans une inscription araméenne.⁸ La racine *rbw* est aussi utilisée en arabe avec le sens agrandissement, pour les choses matérielles ou immatérielle.⁹

Quant au terme *hdth* c'est un verbe *qal pf.* plus suffixe 3p. s. m, de la racine *hdt* au passé, signifie «renouveler, restaurer». Le *h* final est un complément direct. C'est l'équivalent de l'arabe *ḥadaṭa* signifiant renouveler.¹⁰

Finalement, on pourrait dire que cette une inscription votive dans laquelle *hymw* a dédié une statue de Rabbel roi des Nabatéens. L'offrant mentionne aussi dans cette inscription qu'il a agrandi et renouvelé cette statue de Rabbel.

Inscription n° (2)

(Le Théâtre/ Pétra)

- Dalman 1912, n° 26
- Chabot, 1933, 1400

Transcription

- [dkyr] 'bd' bdt 'km' w dkyr 'drm

Traduction

- [Que soit commémoré] 'bd' bdt l'aveugle, et que soit commémoré 'drm

Commentaire

Une inscription commémorative, destinée à deux personnes 'bd' bdt et 'drm. Elle se compose d'une seule ligne, son début est sérieusement abîmé. Lors de notre recherche à Pétra, c'était très difficile de reprendre une nouvelle photo de cette inscription, à cause de son mauvais état actuel.

⁶ Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, p. 1052.

⁷ Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995, p. 1052.

⁸ Cf. Cowley 1967.

⁹ Cf. Ibn Manzûr 1955–1956, t. XI.

¹⁰ Cf. Ibn Manzûr 1955–1956, t. V.

Dalman, dans la première publication de cette inscription, a considéré 'km' comme un nom propre; il s'agit, selon lui, du père de 'bd' bdt. Le RES 1400 également traduit 'km' par un nom propre- le nom patronyme de 'km'

Nous proposons que le terme 'km' est un adjectif masculin dérivé de la racine 'km signifiant «Aveugle». L'aleph final est l'article défini araméen. Ce terme est l'équivalent de l'arabe 'km' signifiant «aveugle».¹¹ Nous pensons également qu'on ne peut pas considérer ce terme comme un nom propre pour deux raisons; La première est qu'il manque le mot *br* «fils de» qui assure la filiation, la deuxième est que, la racine 'km est apparue dans une autre inscriptions araméenne sous forme d'un verbe 3.pl, «y'kmw» signifie «deviennent aveugles».¹²

Le nom propre 'drm; est un nom propre masculin, connu aussi en safaïtique, de la racine *drm* signifiant «édité».¹³

Inscription n° 3

(En-nmir/ Pétra)

- Euting 1885, no. 22
- CIS II 376
- Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904, p 284

Transcription

dkyr whb'lhy br r't
w 'bd' bdt 'lym

Traduction

Qu'il soit commémoré whb'lhy fils de r't
et 'bd' bdt <le> servant

Commentaire

Cette autre inscription commémorative se compose de deux lignes. La problématique de cette inscription est due au mot 'lym à la fin de sa deuxième ligne. Euting a traduit ce mot comme un nom propre de père du 'bd' bdt, sans le détailler. Cette hypothèse de lecture est reprise aussi dans *le corpus* CIS II 376.

Lagrange a lu l'inscription comme:¹⁴

dkyr whb'lhy br d't w 'bd' bdt b šlm

¹¹ Cf. Ibn Manzûr 1955–1956, t. I.

¹² Hofstijzer and Jongeling 1995, p. 52.

¹³ Cantineau II, 1932, p. 57.

¹⁴ Lagrange 1898.

Ainsi, Lagrange propose de lire, au début de l'inscription, un nom propre *whb'ly* au lieu de *'bd'ly*, et à la fin, *bšlm* au lieu de l'adjectif *'lym*. Tandis-que la lecture d'Euting¹⁵ et celle qui est mentionnée dans le CIS II 376, soutiennent la lecture que nous avons proposée au-dessous.

Le mot *'lym* à la fin de l'inscription, a été traduit dans les publications précédentes comme un nom propre masculin. Mais nous pensons qu'il est plus vraisemblable de traduire le mot par un adjectif signifiant «servant» ou «jeune homme». C'est l'équivalent de l'arabe *'ulam* signifiant «servant».

En effet, on ne peut pas considérer ce mot comme un nom propre, car il est proposé par les publications précédentes dans les quelles il est considéré comme le nom du père de *'bd'bd*, mais il manque le mot *br* qui assure la filiation. De plus, ce mot a été mentionné dans d'autres inscriptions nabatéennes de la même région. Trois inscriptions à Pétra ont mentionné ce mot:

1. Milik and Starcky 1975
npš šly br zr 'lhy
'lym šydw nš'
šwšb'
2. Milik and Starcky 1975
šlm hn't 'lym 'l z'
3. CIS II 432
šlm bd mwdw whdwdt 'lymt wtyqt

Dans les deux premières inscriptions, Milik et Starcky ont traduit *'lym* par un titre signifiant servant, et dans CIS II 432, on a repris également la même lecture que nous proposons pour cette inscription.

Inscription n° 4

(En-nmir/ Pétra)

- Euting 1885, n° 118
- CIS II 389
- Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904, p. 289

Transcription

šlm šlm tršw

¹⁵ Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904–1909, p. 284.

Traduction

Qu'il soit sain et sauf tršw

Commentaire

Cette inscription commémorative contient une seule ligne. Le problème se situe au niveau de la lecture du dernier mot gravé dans cette inscription. Cette difficulté de lecture est indiquée dans le *Corpus* CIS II 389. Il n'y a pas de lecture complète, mais on indique l'existence du mot *šlm*.

Dans l'ouvrage de Brünnow et Domaszewski¹⁶ on propose de lire cette inscription comme suit:

šlm šlm tymw

Dans cette lecture, Lagrange lit le dernier mot comme *tymw*: n.p. masculin. Tandis-que le fac-similé de l'inscription montre la faiblesse de cette lecture. Ainsi, nous proposons de le lire comme *tršw*; *tršw*: n.p. m. Jaussen et Savignac le font dérivé de la racine *trš*, forme au schème *pa'el*, signifiant «agir avec droiture».¹⁷ Harding le rapproche de l'arabe *taraša* signifiant «corriger, contrôler».¹⁸ On peut le rapprocher aussi de l'arabe *tāriš* signifiant «fort, robuste».¹⁹

La répétition du mot *šlm* deux fois est une sorte d'affirmation. C'est un phénomène suffisamment connu dans les inscriptions nabatéennes, comme par exemple dans l'inscription: CIS II 382:

- 'bd'lh šlm šlm
- 'bd'lh que soit sain et sauf, que soit sain et sauf

Inscription n° 5

(Naḥal Hever/ La région de la mer morte)

- Starcky en 1954
- Yadine 1972, p. 235.
- Yardeni 2000, pp. 271-277
- Levine 2000, pp. 839-840

En effet, il s'agit du document nabatéen en papyrus qui a été publié pour la première fois par Starcky en 1954.²⁰ Le papyrus a été apporté à Starcky par un bédouin. On pensait que ce papyrus provenait du Wadi Seiyal. Il a

¹⁶ Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904-1909, p. 289.

¹⁷ Jaussen and Savignac 1909, p. 203.

¹⁸ Harding 1971, p. 131.

¹⁹ Ibn Manzūr 1955-1956, t. VII.

²⁰ Starcky 1954, pp. 161-181.

été réédité par Fitzmyer et Harrington dans le cadre de leurs recherches sur les documents araméens en papyrus.²¹

Ces deux publications présentent le regroupement des fragments de façon identique, mais la publication récente de Yardeni présente un montage différent des fragments.²² Cette dernière présentation est en harmonie avec la publication d'un nouveau fragment de ce papyrus par Yardeni. Ce nouveau fragment prouve que le document provient de Naḥal Hever et non pas de Wadi Seiyal.

Ce papyrus est l'un des rares actes juridiques nabatéens et c'est le seul document nabatéen — trouvé jusqu'à aujourd'hui — connu de ce type. Il fait référence à la saisie de deux boutiques et d'une palmeraie (pour satisfaire une dette), et il présente une réclamation de la part de l'héritier (El'azar) pour récupérer les deux boutiques et la palmeraie, après que celui-ci ait réglé la dette.

Ismalîk fils de 'Abdai était le créancier de Nikarchos (le père d'El'azar) et de Banaî (l'oncle d'El'azar). Ismalîk a pris possession de la palmeraie appartenant à ses débiteurs pour rembourser leur dette, après une saisie. Nikarchos (le père d'El'azar) et Banaî (l'oncle d'El'azar) sont mort. El'azar était l'héritier légitime de son père, mais aussi de son oncle, car celui-ci n'avait pas d'enfant. En tant qu'héritier légitime des deux (de Nikarchos son père, et de Banaî son oncle) El'azar a demandé à Ismalîk (le créancier) de lever l'hypothèque en remboursant la dette.

Le problème se situe au niveau de la lecture et de la traduction de certains mots du texte. Tout d'abord, le terme *štr 'dw'*, fréquemment attesté dans ce texte, est une expression utilisée pour la première fois en nabatéen dans ce document. La signification exacte de cette expression reste discutée. Elle est interprétée par Starcky comme «document de saisie ou partage», il s'agirait, selon lui, d'une licitation.²³ Rabinowitz la rapproche de l'expression Talmudique *šetar tirpa* signifiant «document de saisie».²⁴ Fitzmyer et Harrington pensent aussi que cette expression indique «un document de saisie».²⁵

En effet, Le terme *'dw'* nous fait penser à la racine arabe وعد *wa'd* signifiant «promettre, prendre date, donner rendez-vous». Mais aussi à l'accadien *wadu* signifiant «toute chose fixée, déterminée».²⁶ Nous pensons donc

²¹ Cf. Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978, p. 164.

²² Cf. Yardeni 2000, pp. 265–269.

²³ Cf. Starcky 1954, p. 168.

²⁴ Rabinowitz 1954, pp. 1–14.

²⁵ Cf. Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978, p. 164.

²⁶ Pour les rapprochements de ce terme aux dialectes sémitiques, cf. Lemaire and Durand 1984, pp. 92–106.

que le terme *štr 'dw'* est une expression qualifiant un contrat signé par les deux parties contractées (d'un côté Nikarchos père d'El'azar et Banaï oncle d'El'azar, et de l'autre côté Ismalik — le créancier). Il s'agit d'une promesse écrite et déterminée par les deux parties contractées, donc un engagement garantissant le droit et le devoir de chacun. On propose donc de le traduire par «le document de promesse».

À la ligne onze du texte, Starcky lit le mot qui se trouve après la lacune, au début de la ligne, comme *bqst*, en le rapprochant du terme talmudique *qst*. Il pense qu'il désigne une partie de la dette. Mais il est plus vraisemblable de lire la deuxième lettre comme *n* (au lieu d'un *q*), le *nun* est très caractéristique. On peut rapprocher ce terme de l'arabe نص / *naša* signifie «le texte original», mais aussi de la locution نص / *benāša* (précédé par la préposition *b*) signifiant «en toutes lettres». Cette lecture du terme comme *bnšt* donne aussi une signification plus harmonieuse avec le reste de la phrase, où on peut lire:

II.].y wbnšt mškwny štr 'dw' hw mšknw nyqrks
wbny...

II.]et selon le texte original des hypothèques [*de*] ce document de promesse, les hypothèques de Nikarchos et de Banaï sont...

À la fin de la ligne vingt-huit et au début de la ligne vingt-neuf, Yardeni lit la formule suivante: *kl dy 'b'y wdy tb'y*²⁹ *bšmy 'lyk*. Après vérification de la microfiche du texte original, nous proposons la lecture:

*kl dy 'b'y wytb''*²⁹ *bšmy 'lyk*,

nous lisons le terme *wytb''* au lieu de *wdy tb'y* proposé par Yardeni. La formule *kl dy 'b'y wytb''*²⁹ *bšmy 'lyk* est aussi attestée dans les actes de vente de palmeraies sous la même forme. Exemple:²⁷ dans n° 42¹²

kl dy wytb'' bšmy 'lyk bzbny'.

À la fin de la ligne trente, nous proposons l'ajout du terme *lbyny* au début de la ligne, ainsi peut-on avoir la formule suivante:

*wbkl dy hwh bynyk*³⁰ [*lbyny*.....

et de tout ce qui était entre toi³⁰. [et entre moi.....].

Nous proposons cette restauration en nous appuyant sur une formule similaire dans le texte lui-même, à la ligne vingt-six: *nḥšb byny lbynyk*.

Nous proposons aussi de restaurer le troisième mot de la ligne 31, après la lacune au début de la ligne, comme *wštryn*. Ce terme donne alors une interprétation cohérente avec la suite de la phrase.

....]. *b'h wtly wštryn wktbyn wkrwzyn*.....

....]. demandé en suspens en fait d'actes et d'écrits et de saisies

²⁷ Yardeni 2000, pp. 278–283.

Nous proposons aussi la lecture suivante pour la trente cinquième ligne:

35.] b/p[]šm^c wqblt mlk wdyn wptwr w'srtg

35.....] et j'ai porté plainte devant roi et juge et interprète et commandant

Cette ligne nous donne des indications sur l'hierarchie dans l'institution juridique nabatéenne, donc on peut le regrouper comme suit: Le roi; Le juge; *dyn* L'interprète, *ptwr*; le commandant.

Conclusion

Ainsi, cette étude a mis en lumière quelques inscriptions nabatéennes de la région sud de la Jordanie et visant à les revaloriser. Bien que les inscriptions nabatéennes soient, dans la plupart des cas, courtes, elles contiennent des éléments d'information sur la vie quotidienne des nabatéens. On peut trouver des indications sur leur vie religieuse, sociale et politique, mais aussi des caractéristiques linguistiques et grammaticales très importants.

Actuellement, suite à l'érosion continue des inscriptions, plusieurs moyens devraient être mis en œuvre afin d'enrayer ce phénomène. Tout d'abord, une plus grande mobilisation de moyens humains — archéologues, techniciens...- devraient être ordonnée afin de récolter le maximum d'inscriptions — déjà examinées ou non encore examinées (récolte au moyen de photos, fac similé...).

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Nouvelles inscriptions Thamudiennes du sud de la Jordanie

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Abstract

This study concerns six Thamudic inscriptions discovered during research carried out in 200, in southern Jordan in the region of Al-Jafar, along the frontier with Saudi Arabia. Each inscription is transcribed and translated with an accompanying commentary.

Introduction

Bien que les Thamudiens soient probablement originaires de l'Arabie du Sud, un grand nombre d'entre eux ont apparemment émigré très tôt vers le nord. De récents travaux archéologiques en divers lieux d'Arabie et de la Syrie, ont permis de mettre à jour des écritures et gravures rupestres. Ces inscriptions sont très courtes et ne livrent souvent que des noms de personnes et d'animaux. Des enquêtes sur le site sont nécessaires afin d'assurer l'enregistrement de tout élément susceptible de fournir des informations supplémentaires.

Le désert de Al-Jafer est une des régions les plus riches des inscriptions Thamudiennes en Jordanie. Un nombre assez considérable des inscriptions Thamudiennes est relevé lors d'une recherche sur le terrain réalisé en 2002 à Wadi Samarmadah dans la région de Al-Jafer, en Jordanie septentrionale, le long de la frontière avec l'Arabie.

N° 1

Transcription

l'mr bn mlk

Traduction

Pour 'Amr fils de Malek

Commentaire

Cette inscription commémorative est gravée sur un rocher de forme carrée. Elle se compose d'une seule ligne, ses lettres sont de grande taille avec un peu de largeur dans certaines parties. La lecture ainsi que la traduction de l'inscription ne posent aucun problème.

'mr: n.p. m. On peut le rapprocher de l'arabe /'umar ou 'amr, noms formés sur la racine *'mr* signifiant «habiter ou vivre longtemps».¹ Ce nom est bien attesté en thamoudéen sous la même forme,² on le note aussi sous la forme verbale *t'mr*, et avec un *t* final sous la forme *'mrt*,³ avec un *n* final sous la forme *'mrn*.⁴ Il est aussi attesté dans d'autres dialectes sémitiques; en nabatéen,⁵ en safaïtique, en lihyanite, qatabanite et en sabéen.⁶

mlk: n.p. m. n.p. m. de la racine *mlk* signifiant «posséder, avoir l'autorité sur quelque chose». C'est l'équivalent de l'arabe «مالك» de la racine «ملك» *malaka* signifie «posséder».⁷ Le nom est attesté en thamoudéen. sous plusieurs formes; composé avec le nom de dieu *mlk'l*, sous la forme féminine *mlkt*, et avec un yod final *mlky*, qui est probablement la forme possessive de *mlk*.⁸ Ce nom est aussi attesté en nabatéen,⁹ palmyrénien,¹⁰ safaïtique,¹¹ lihyanite,¹² et minéen.¹³

¹ Ibn Duraid 1979, p. 13.

² Harding 1971, p. 436.

³ Harding 1971, p. 436.

⁴ Harding 1952, p. 166.

⁵ Cantineau 1932, p. 42.

⁶ Harding 1971, p. 436.

⁷ Lisān al-'Arab 1955–1956, pp. 182–184.

⁸ King 1990, p. 551.

⁹ Negev 1991, p. 39.

¹⁰ Stark 1971, p. 94.

¹¹ Harding 1971, pp. 564–565.

¹² Jaussen and Savignac 1909–1914, no. 192.

¹³ Al-Said 1995, p. 162.

No 2

Transcription

lqym ḥṣn

Traduction

Cette œuvre est à Qayem

Commentaire

Cette inscription est composée de deux lignes (la deuxième ligne ne contient qu'une seule lettre «voir la photo») écrites de gauche à droit avec un large instrument ce qui a rendu sa lecture très facile et dont la traduction.

qym: n.p. m. fréquemment attesté en thamoudéen, il est noté aussi sous la forme *qymt* avec un *t* final qui est un nom propre masculin lu par Littmann et Harding comme *qaiymat*. Le nom est aussi attesté en tham. sous la forme *'qwm*; n.p. m. on peut rapprocher ce nom de l'arabe *qayyam* signifiant «stable, durable», mais aussi de l'arabe *qayyem* dérivé de la racine *qwm* signifiant «rétablir, redresser, recorriger».¹⁴

Le nom est noté en safaitique sous les formes *qym* et *qwm*, mais aussi sous la forme diminutive *qwym*;¹⁵ en nabatéen sous les formes *qymw*, *qymt* et avec l'article *'lqymw*;¹⁶ en palmyrénien sous les formes *qymw* et *qymy*. Le nom est aussi noté en grec sous les formes *Καίαμος*, *Καιουμος* et *Ιεκουμος*.¹⁷

ṣn'h: ṣn' est n. s. m., le *h* final et l'article définit., dérivé de la racine ṣn' signifiant «fabriquer, faire» c'est l'équivalent de l'arabe صنع / *ṣana'a* signifie «faire, fabriquer».

No 3

Transcription

.....m bn ḥrm wwgm 'l 'bh w'l 'mh pndm ḏ.....

Traduction

.... m fils de Ḥarem, et il était triste pour son père et pour sa mère.....

Commentaire

Cette inscription a été sculptée sur une pierre de grès. Cette inscription est abîmée au début et à la fin, ainsi a-t-on perdu le nom du propriétaire et

¹⁴ Ibn Duraid 1979, p. 46.

¹⁵ Harding 1971, p. 492.

¹⁶ Cantineau 1932, p. 142.

¹⁷ Winnett and Harding 1978, p. 604.

aussi le dernier mot du texte qui commence par le *ḡ*. Il était très difficile de restaurer le nom au début du texte car plusieurs noms en thamoudéens finissent par une «*m*».

Le texte est écrit tout autour de pierre, et il commence du bas vers le haut et de gauche au droit.

ḥrm: n.p. m. construit sur la racine *ḥrm* signifiant «sacer/ réserver».¹⁸ Le nom est noté dans d'autres inscriptions thamudiennes sous plusieurs formes, dont; *ḥrm*, *ḥrmt*:¹⁹ n.p. avec un *t* final; *ḥrmn*:²⁰ n.p. m. avec un non final, c'est la forme diminutive de *ḥrm*; *ḥrm*:²¹ et il est composé avec le nom du dieu: *ḥrm'l*,²² et *ḥrmsm*.²³

Le nom est aussi attesté dans d'autres inscriptions sémitiques, on le note en safaitique sous la forme *ḥrm* : n.p m²⁴ et nom de tribu,²⁵ et la frome *ḥrm*:²⁶ n. p. m. et dans certains cas, il est noté précédé par l'article *h* (*hḥrm*):²⁷ en sabéen sous la forme *ḥrm*.;²⁸ en qatabanite sous les formes *ḥrm*, *ḥrmt*, *ḥrmm*, *ḥrmy*²⁹ et *ḥrm*:³⁰ en min. sous la forme *ḥrm*, et composé avec le nom du dieu sous les formes: *ḥrm'l*, *ḥrmsm*. et *yḥrm'l*,³¹ et comme un nom de tribu sous la forme *ḥrm*:³² en nabatéen sous les formes *ḥrm* et *ḥrym*.³³

wgm: qal pft. dérivé de la racine «*wgm*» signifiant «chagriner, navrer, attrister».³⁴

'l: prép. signifiant “sur” il est utilisé dans ce texte avec le sens métaphoriques «il est chagriné pour...».

'bh: n. s. m. + suff. 3p. s. m. «son père».

'mh: n. s. m. + suff. 3p. s. m. «sa mère».

¹⁸ Nehmé 1999, pp. 79–92.

¹⁹ Harding 1952, n. 277.

²⁰ Harding 1952, ns 83, 113, 219, 259a, 318, 498.

²¹ Harding 1971, p. 185.

²² Al-Dheeb 1999, pp. 38–39.

²³ Harding 1971, p. 185.

²⁴ Winnett and Harding 1978, n. 31; 2004a; 2592; 2814.

²⁵ Harding 1969, p. 8.

²⁶ Winnett and Harding 1978, n. 643; 1200a; 1419; 1532; 2339.

²⁷ Winnett and Harding 1978, n. 2258; 2323.

²⁸ Harding 1971, p. 26.

²⁹ Hayajneh 1998, p. 118.

³⁰ Harding 1971, p. 26; Hayajneh 1998, p. 68.

³¹ Al-Said 1995, pp. 86–87.

³² Winnett and Reed 1970, p. 122.

³³ Cantineau 1932, p. 100.

³⁴ Jamme 1976, pp. 159–172.

pndm:

p: conjonction

ndm: qal impft. dérivé de la racine *ndm* signifiant «désoler, peiné». Le terme est fréquemment attesté en thamoudéen, il est toujours suivi de la préposition «'l» avec le sens «être triste pour...». ³⁵

No 4

Transcription

lhn' bn 'bgr

Traduction

Pour Hānī' fils de 'Abgar

Commentaire

Cette inscription est gravée sur une pierre de grès assez dure de forme carrée, sa surface est fine ce qui facilite la tâche du sculpteur. L'inscription est écrite soigneusement ce qui rend sa lecture facile.

hn': n.p. m. C'est l'équivalent de l'arabe Hānī, encore utilisé en arabe de nos jours comme n.p. m. dérivé de la racine *hny*, signifiant «être heureux». ³⁶ Le nom est fréquent dans d'autres inscriptions thamoudiennes. ³⁷ On le note en thamoudéen sous la forme féminine *hn't* ³⁸ et *thn'*, ³⁹ et dans d'autres inscriptions il est composé avec le nom de dieu sous la forme *hn'l*. ⁴⁰ Le nom est aussi attesté en safaitique: sous deux formes: *hn'* ⁴¹ et *hn't*; ⁴² en sabéen sous la forme féminine *hn'm*. ⁴³ en qatabanite sous les formes *hn'm* et *hn't*; ⁴⁴ en minéen sous les formes *hn'* et *yhn'*; ⁴⁵ en palmyrénien sous la forme *hn'y*; ⁴⁶ en nabatéen sous les formes *hn'w*, *hn'* et *hny'w*, -traduit par Cantineau comme «serviteur» ⁴⁷ —, mais aussi composé sous les formes *hn'l* et *hn'lh*; en lihyanite sous les formes, *hn'h* et, *hn'*. ⁴⁸

³⁵ Winnett and Reed 1970, p. 134.

³⁶ Ibn Duraid 1979, p. 354.

³⁷ Winnett and Reed 1970, p. 77; Harding 1952, n. 31, 58.

³⁸ Harding 1952, ns 211, 350, 392, 497.

³⁹ Harding 1952, 281.

⁴⁰ Harding 1952, pp. 127, 133, 438, 482.

⁴¹ Macdonald *et al.* 1996.

⁴² Winnett and Harding 1978, ns 711, 780, 781.

⁴³ Harding 1971, p. 626.

⁴⁴ Hayajneh 1998, p. 260.

⁴⁵ Al-Said 1995, pp. 172, 168.

⁴⁶ Stark 1971, p. 84.

⁴⁷ Cantineau 1932, p. 87.

⁴⁸ Harding 1971, p. 626.

'bgr: n.p. m. dérivé de la racine *bgr* signifie «qui a une hernie ombilicale»,⁴⁹ c'est l'équivalent de l'arabe *أبجر* /'Abjar. Le nom est noté en thamoudéen sous la forme *bgrt* -la forme féminine;⁵⁰ en safaitique sous la forme masculine 'bgr;⁵¹ et la forme féminine *bgrt*;⁵² en sabéen 'bgr;⁵³ en minéen 'bgr;⁵⁴ en nabatéen 'bgr 'bgrw et *bgrt*;⁵⁵ en palmyrénien 'bgr et *bgrh*.⁵⁶ Le nom est aussi noté dans des inscriptions grecques sous les formes: Αβγαρος, Αβγαρου, Αβγαρ et Βαγρατος.⁵⁷

No 5

Transcription

lmr bn ġd

Traduction

Pour mur fils de Ġaḍ

Commentaire

mr: n.p. m. formé, probablement, de la racine *mrr* signifie «amère». On peut le rapprocher de l'arabe *mur* «amère» et *maru* «le corde bien serré» et *merat* «dureté, fermeté». ⁵⁸ Le nom est attesté en thamoudéen sous la forme *mr* et *mr'*;⁵⁹ en safaitique;⁶⁰ lihyanite;⁶¹ palmyrénien;⁶² en nabatéen sous la forme *mray*.⁶³ Le nom est aussi noté dans d'autres inscriptions sémitiques tel qu'en phénicien⁶⁴ sous la forme *mr*; araméen sous la forme *mr'*.⁶⁵ Braue pense que le nom est d'origine syriaque «*mar*» signifiant «le maître, le lord» qui est fréquemment noté dans les inscriptions sémitiques.⁶⁶

⁴⁹ Ibn Manzur 1955–56 t. I, pp. 317–319.

⁵⁰ Harding 1971, p. 93.

⁵¹ Winnett and Harding 1978, n. 1230.

⁵² Winnett and Harding 1978, n. 3558.

⁵³ RES 4944.

⁵⁴ Al-Said 1995, p. 88.

⁵⁵ Negev 1991, pp. 9, 16.

⁵⁶ Stark 1971, pp. 8, 74.

⁵⁷ Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 6.

⁵⁸ Ibn Duraid 1979, pp. 22–23.

⁵⁹ King 1990, p. 54.

⁶⁰ Winnett and Harding 1978, n. 167.

⁶¹ Harding 1971, p. 536.

⁶² Stark 1971.

⁶³ Negev 1991, p. 41.

⁶⁴ Benz 1972, p. 353.

⁶⁵ Maraqtan 1988, p. 151.

⁶⁶ Brauer 1925, p. 32.

Le nom est attesté en thamoudéen sous plusieurs formes dont *mr* qui est lu par Littmann et Harding comme *Murr*; *hmr*; *mr'n*.

gd: n.p. m. fréquemment attesté en thamoudéen comme n.p. m., mais aussi comme nom théophore sous les formes *gd'l* et *gdllh*.⁶⁷

No 6

Transcription

lw'l bn 'lplh bn w'l bn s'dlh bn 'lplh

Traduction

Pour Wa'el fils de Alpaleh fils de Wa'el fils Sa'dlah fils de Alpaleh

Commentaire

Une autre inscription commémorative est composée de deux lignes, et elle est gravée sur une pierre de grès. La lecture de l'ensemble de l'inscription est facile malgré la les agents atmosphériques qui ont touché les parties inférieures de la lettre *aleph* dans la première et la deuxième lignes de l'inscription. Le texte est écrit de façon cursive -par un sculpteur, apparemment, habitué à ce genre d'écriture- de droite à gauche.

w'l: n.p. m. fréquemment attesté dans les inscriptions thamudiéennes. Le nom est aussi connu en safaitique;⁶⁸ en araméen sous la forme *w'lw*,⁶⁹ en lihyanite *w'l*;⁷⁰ en grec sous les formes *Ουαλς*, *Ουαλου*.⁷¹

'lplh: n.p. composé de deux éléments: *plh*; n. abst. dérivé de la racine *plh* signifie «servir, apporter, donner» et le nom de la divinité El, très connue chez les Arabes avant l'Islam. On note aussi le nom de la divinité El dans d'autres noms théophores en thamoudéen.⁷²

C'est l'équivalent de *paleh*, *palah* en arabe classique; Noms dérivés de la racine *plh* signifiant «servir, apporter, donner».⁷³ Ainsi, il est probable que le nom composé *'lplh* signifie «El a donné» ou bien «le Serviteur d'El». Le terme *plh* est aussi noté en sabéen. Sous la forme *hplh* signifiant «gagné, réussit». en nabatéen sous la forme *plhnh* signifiant «nous l'avons adoré»;

⁶⁷ Harding 1952, ns 103, 104, 143, 170, 366, 96, 441.

⁶⁸ Oxtoby 1968, p. 164.

⁶⁹ Marqten 1988, pp. 156–7.

⁷⁰ Harding and Dayton [1971]1972, n. 10.

⁷¹ Winnett and Harding 1978, n. 623.

⁷² Winnett and Harding 1978, n. 623.

⁷³ Ibn Manzur 1955–56 vol. 2, pp. 547–8.

en syr. *plḥ* signifiant «servi, labourer»;⁷⁴ en araméen sous la forme *plḥ'* signifiant «le service».⁷⁵

s'dlh: n.p. m. théophore est composé de deux éléments. Il est formé de *s'd* «chance, bonheur», et du nom de la divinité.⁷⁶ Ce nom est attesté thamoudéen,⁷⁷ mais aussi en safaitique⁷⁸ en nabatéen;⁷⁹ palmyrénien;⁸⁰ en minéen;⁸¹ en lihyanite.⁸²

Conclusion

Ainsi cette étude a mise en lumière six nouvelles inscriptions thamudiéennes trouvées a Wadi Samarmadah dans la Région de Al-Jafer au Sud de la jordanie. Bien que les inscriptions sont courtes, elles contiennent des noms propres intéressants et rarement mentionnés dans les inscriptions thamudiéennes, mais aussi des caractéristiques linguistiques importants.

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⁷⁴ Costaz 1963, p. 277.

⁷⁵ Kraeling 1953, n. 5, II.

⁷⁶ Harding 1971, p. 318.

⁷⁷ Harding 1971, p. 319.

⁷⁸ Winnette et Harding 1978, n. 1141.

⁷⁹ CIS II 530, 541.

⁸⁰ Stark 1971, p. 15.

⁸¹ RES 2771, 3722.

⁸² Winnett et Reed 1970, p. 129.

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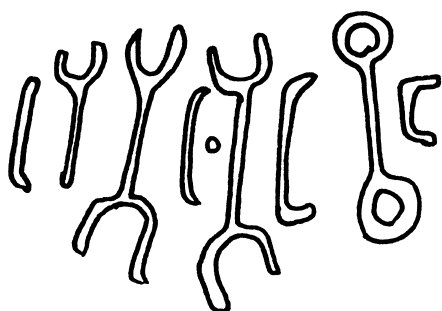
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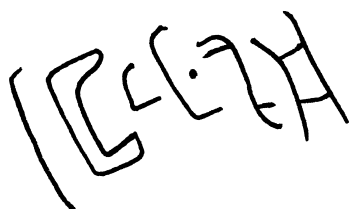
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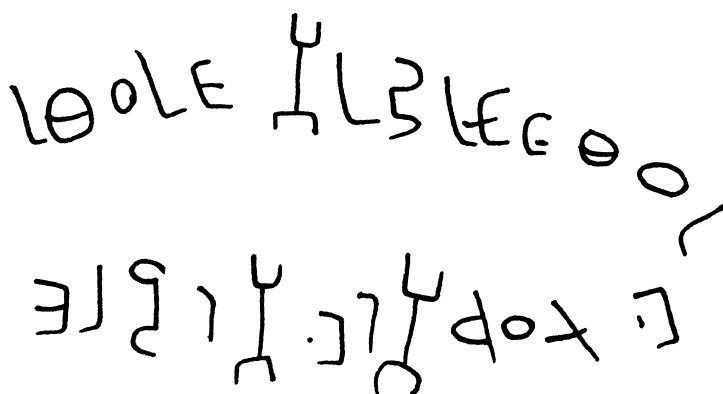
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Inscription (4)



Inscription (5)



Inscription (6)

Severus of Antioch in Scetis

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Abstract

This article is divided into two parts. The first deals with the section of the life of Severus of Antioch attributed to Athanasius concerning his sojourn in Scetis where we will compare this part with the other historical sources. The second part studies a local tradition of Scetis mentioned in a letter of Severus of Antioch. This second part demonstrates clearly that this part of the life of Severus is authentic and is derived from first hand information, which Severus obtained about Scetis.

Introduction

This article is divided into two parts. The first deals with the section of the life of Severus of Antioch, attributed to Athanasius, concerning his sojourn in Scetis, and the second part studies a local tradition of Scetis mentioned in a letter of Severus of Antioch. This second part demonstrates clearly that this part of the life of Severus is authentic and that Severus obtained first hand information about Scetis.

A. Severus of Antioch in Scetis according to the Biography of Athanasius

The sojourn of Severus of Antioch in Egypt had been the subject of several studies, which we can mention. The first was due to W. E. Crum¹ where he studies the graffiti in Egypt concerning quotations from the works of Severus of Antioch. The Second study is that of De Lacy O'Leary² where he studied *History of the Patriarch*, the *Synaxarium*.

¹ Crum 1922–1923, pp. 92–104.

² De Lacy O'Leary 1952, pp. 425–436.

The study of Anneke van der Meer³ where on the basis of little used sources, such as the Ethiopian Biography by Athanasius of Antioch and various Coptic and Arabic passages and texts, she sheds light upon this significant period of Severus' life. I also studied Severus of Antioch in the *History* of the Patriarch.⁴ In his monumental book on the Monasteries of Wadi 'N Natrun, Evelyn White made a reference to our text without any comment.⁵ While editing the Arabic version of the *Life of Severus of Antioch* attributed to Athanasius, according to the manuscript of the Coptic Patriarchal Library,⁶ and the manuscript of the Library of the Monastery of Saint Antony, which is by no means superior to the Ethiopian, I was intrigued by the image of Severus in the Desert of Saint Macarius:

(fol. 130r-127)... And he went unto the Monastery of Abba Macarius. And there was there a monk from the district of Upper-Egypt, whose name was Macarius, and he was a saint. And God revealed to him that this was Severus the patriarch. He went forth unto him, and honoured him as the honour of the Apostles, and the fathers and the leaders for he strove and pleased his conflict on the straight faith. And there was in the cell of the holy monk a spring of bitter water. And the brethren monks were troubled because of it, and Macarius the holy elder drew near unto him because he knew that God heard that which he asked him, and he told him of the spring of bitter water and how the brethren were troubled for the lack of water. And the patriarch said to the elder-monk: "Your prayer, O my father, is enough for this and other matters."⁷ And the elder insisted, keeping asking (fol. 130v-127) and entreating him to call upon God that the spring might become sweet, for the convenience of the brethren, because of the distance of water from them. And the second lion that spoke great things,⁸ which is Severus the patriarch, said to Macarius the elder, the holy monk: "When the brethren receive the cup,⁹ take the vessel of water in which they drink in the church, and from the water left, after receiving the holy mysteries, put into this bitter spring of water, and it shall become sweet, by the might and power of God, Let Him be praised." And the elder monk had a good faith, and did as he commanded him, and the spring of water became sweet, unto this our day, as the waters of Jericho, when Elisha the prophet came there.¹⁰

And it is further related that this reverend father Severus fell into the hands of some heretics by the way, who harmed him and cut from him a member which is kept until now in the monastery of Abba Macarius."

³ Van der Meer 1996, pp. 49–72.

⁴ Youssef 2003, pp. 435–458.

⁵ Evelyn White 1932, pp. 230–231.

⁶ Simaika 1945, pp. 154 n° 357 (190 Theol). Graf 1934 pp. 121–123. n° 333 (394). Youhanna Nessim Youssef, 2004, pp. 502 [138]–503[139].

⁷ The Ethiopian version adds "and he refused", cf. Goodspeed and Crum 1908 p. 714.

⁸ Rev. 13.

⁹ That is in the Communion.

¹⁰ 2 Kings 2:21–22.

We may subdivide our text into several elements in order to analyse it, and indicate its plausibility.

1. *A monk from Upper Egypt called Macarius.* Some doubts may arise about the authenticity of this information, since it is known that the Monophysite monks were persecuted and even sent away from Scetis such as in the life of Samuel of Kalamun,¹¹ or in the life of Daniel of Scetis.¹² However, the participation of the monks in the theological debates was not uniform.¹³ On the other hand Scetis, in contrast to the other monasteries near the cities,¹⁴ was an ideal milieu for those who wanted more meditation. This site attracts many people from several origins such as Evagrius, Arsenius, the two little foreigners received at Scetis by Macarius. It seems that this father Macarius from Upper Egypt moved after becoming too well known and famous, in his region, and he came to the desert of Scetis.¹⁵ The *Apophthegmata Patrum* mention several father from Upper Egypt such as John the Theban disciple of Ammos,¹⁶ Isaac the Theban.¹⁷ Hence this information could be authentic.

2. *God revealed to him that this is Severus the Patriarch*

The Coptic *Synaxarium*¹⁸ gives a detail account of this miracle:

And when he (Severus) came to the land of Egypt, he travelled from place to place, and from monastery to monastery hiding himself and God performed many wonders and miracles at his hands. And it happened on a certain day that he came to the desert of Scetis and entered the church in the guise of a foreign monk. The priest raised the oblation and went round incensing the people. After the reading of the books and the Gospel, the priest raised the veil and sought the oblation in the paten, but it was hidden from him. Then he wept and turned towards the people, saying: "O brethren, I know not whether this is on account of my sin or your sin,¹⁹ that I find not the oblation in its place, and that it is hidden from me." The people wept, and immediately an angel of Lord appeared to him (the priest), saying: "This is not for thy sin nor for the sin of the people, but because thou hast dared to raise

¹¹ Alcock 1983, pp. 7–8, (Text), pp. 80–81 (Translation).

¹² Clugnet p. 95. Vivian 2000–2001, pp. 94–103.

¹³ Wipszycka 1994, pp. 22–23.

¹⁴ Wipszycka 1994, pp. 1–44.

¹⁵ Regnault 1999, p. 160.

¹⁶ Ward 1986, p. 109.

¹⁷ Ward 1986, pp. 109–110.

¹⁸ For more details cf. Colin 1988, pp. 273–317. cf. also Youssef 1993, pp. 173–178.

¹⁹ A similar miracle is mentioned in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* that because of the sin of the deacon the eagle which used to appear during the offering for the clergy and the deacons did not appear cf. Chaine 1960, no. 192, pp. 49–50 (text), pp. 125–126 (translation).

the oblation when the patriarch is present.” And he (the priest) answered, saying: “Where is he, O my Lord” Then the Angel pointed him out with his finger, for he (the patriarch Severus) was in a corner of the Church...²⁰

The same story is mentioned in an Arabic fragment with few variations. The place of this miracle is not the desert of Scetis but the church of Mu’allaqah²¹ in Misr (Old-Cairo), and instead of priest, it mentioned a ‘Mûtrân’ (archbishop).²²

The Arabic life of Severus attributed to Athanasius of Antioch mentions that Severus visited the city of Misr (Old Cairo) without mentioning any miracles.²³ This miracle is also mentioned in the Book of Glorification²⁴ without precision to the place, but the fact that it mentions the ‘priest’ and not the ‘metropolitan’ proves that it was taken from the same source as the *synaxarium*.

<p> ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΙΝΙΩΤ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΦΗΕΤΕ ΠΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΑΜΕ ΠΙΟΥΗΒ ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΠΩΣ ΑΚΕΡΤΟΛΜΑΝ ΕΤΑΛΕΘΥCΙΑ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΕQΟQΙ ΕΡΑΤQ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΠΕΧΕ ΠΙΟΥΗΒ ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΜΑΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΡΟQ ΠΑΘΕ ΧΕ ΨΩΟΥΝ ΜΜΟQ ΑΝ ΑQΘΕΞΤΗΒ ΕΡΟQ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΕQΟQΙ ΕΡΑΤQ ΞΕΝ ΠΙΕΛΚC ΝΤΕ ΨΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΑQΙ ΝΧΕ ΠΙΟΥΗΒ ΨΑ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕQΨΟ ΕΡΟQ ΕΘΡΕQΑΙQ ΝΡΕΜΖΕ ΑΥΕΝ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΨΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΑΥΨΤΑΙΟ ΝΑQ ΧΕ QΕΜΨΑ ΝΤΑΙΟ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΑQΟΥΑΡΠ ΕΠΩΩΙ ΖΑ ΠΘC ΝΖΑΝΖΥΜΝΟC ΕΥΟΥΑΒ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΔΟΞΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΥΕΡΠΡΕΠΙ ΝΨΤΡΙΑC </p>	<p> This is Severus the great Patriarch, that the angel informed the priest about him. How did you dare to offer the sacrifice while the patriarch is present? The priest said to the angel: “Show me, him, my lord for I do not know him.” The angel pointed finger at him, standing in the corner of the church. The priest came to the patriarch asking him to absolve him. They let Severus enter into the church and they honoured him for he is worthy of all honours He (Severus) offered to the Lord some holy hymns and doxologies that suit the Trinity.²⁵ </p>
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The Antiphonarium²⁶ mentions the same theme of the miracle, for the days of 2 Babah²⁷ and 14 Amshir²⁸ but without the angel.

²⁰ Basset 1907, pp. 313–314; Burmester 1936, pp. 79–84.

²¹ For this church cf. Coquin 1974, pp. 65–79. Coquin 1991 pp. 557–560.

²² Kugener 1907, p. 399.

²³ Cf. note 4. fol. 130v–127.

²⁴ For this book cf. Youhanna Nessim Youssef 1993a, pp. 139–147, Youssef 1995, pp. 77–83.

²⁵ Attala Arsenios al–Muharraqi 1972, pp. 350–351.

²⁶ Antiphonarium (Arabic Difhar), This book contains a collection of hymns for the whole year. The hymn of the Antiphonarium is sung in the service of the Psalmody, which follows the office of Compline. Cf. Gawdat. Gabra 1996, pp. 37–52, Gawdat Gabra 1998, pp. 49–68.

²⁷ O’Leary, 1926, vol. I, p. 27.

²⁸ O’Leary 1927, vol. II, p. 44.

<p> πᾶς πένσωτηρ: ἐκεαίτεν νέμπω μπίασμος μφνεῶν σεῦνρος φαί εταρί εζρηι ετχωρα νχημι αqбoα нсωq нхе юутианиос поурo μπεqχемоума τεqχωιλι ероq αqχιμι ноуекκλнсиα αqωα²⁹ εξοуn ερος ετα πιναγ ωωπι нте πιαспасмос μπεqχемзли εασпазесөө ммоq αqнаγ επенсωτηρ ζен памнр нте теqмау еqерzωграфин еfωχι нφε αq† μπεqоуoi αqераспазесөө ммоq α неqсfotoу молаχ εнапенс̄ωp μπεqχαq εβολ ωате пiλαос θωоу† нтоуеми ζен оумеөмни хе пiархне- реуc αq†ωоу мф† фнетиpи нниωфнpи мпарα- δοzон ζен ннеθоуαв нтаq хере сеῦнρος: пωнpи нсеῦнρος: пiе- волζен εноуни: нте fορθοδοzια хере фнetaγδωpп εβολ: мфиωт мπε- qиωт εөвнтq: ζαχεν оуmnω нchoу мπατοуmici ммоq зитен нiεχхн:... </p>	<p> Christ our Saviour let us be worthy of the greeting of Saint Severus. This (man) who came to the country of Egypt, (when) Justinian the king persecuted him. He did not find a place to dwell, he found a church, and he entered into it When it was the Greetings (Aspasmos)³⁰, he did not find a person to greet him, He saw our Lord in the arms of his Mother, painted on a piece of wood. He rushed and kissed Him; his lips embraced those of our Saviour. He (Saviour) did not leave him until the people as- sembled in order to know truly that (he is) the patri- arch. He glorified God who did marvellous miracles for His saint Hail Severus son of Severus, who is the root of the Orthodoxy. Hail to whom it was revealed to his grandfather about him, a long time ago before his birth Through the prayers... </p>
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The development of this miracle may be an indication of the development of the patriarchal residence in Egypt from the Monastery of Saint Macarius to the church of Muallaqah in Old Cairo. Hence we may expect that this miracle be written when the patriarchal cell was still in Scetis.³¹

3. *He went up to him and praised him.* In the early centuries, monks used to flee from the bishops “like wine or bishops,”³² but this axiom was nevertheless not always observed. Sisoës amiably greeted Adelphius Bishop of Nilopolis, and we also know that Athanasius was well received by monks, because he hid among them to escape the imperial police.³³ There are some rules of hospitality such as washing feet and meals,³⁴ and special hymns for welcoming the bishops in the Coptic Church.³⁵

²⁹ Read ωε.

³⁰ It is a technical liturgical word, meaning the time after the prayer of reconciliation, and before the Anaphora.

³¹ Cf. Meinardus 1965–1966, pp. 51–61. R. G. Coquin 1991, vol. 6, pp. 1912–1913.

³² Regnault 1999, pp. 28, 146.

³³ Regnault 1999, p. 146.

³⁴ Regnault 1999, pp. 139–149.

³⁵ Muyser 1953, pp. 31–40. Zanetti 1995, pp. 593–611.

From this miracle we can retrace the development of story of Severus in Scetis:

Miracle	Date	Reference
Severus was welcomed by an elder written early VII century from an Upper Egypt abbot of a <i>Manshopi</i> in Scetis	written early VII century	The Arabic life of Severus
Severus attended the liturgy in Scetis the church was empty, he kissed the icon	perhaps in the IX century after the raid of the Barbarians in 817 AD when the monasteries were destroyed	Coptic Antiphonarium
Severus attended the liturgy in Scetis without receiving liturgical honours as patriarch. The celebrant was a priest.	X-XI century when the Synaxarium Scetis became a patriarchal cell	The books of the of the Synaxarium and the book Glorifications
Severus attended the liturgy in Mu'allaqah without receiving his honours as patriarch. The celebrant was an Archbishop	XI-XII centuries, when the Mu'allaqah church became a patriarchal cell	An Arabic fragment.

4. *And there was in the cell of the holy monk a spring of bitter water.* The water was a criterion for choosing the spot to live. Water is found near surface and wells are easy to dig in Scetis. By digging five feet down water can be found, albeit salty.³⁶ The word *cell* here means a *Manshopi* (*laura*, *Hermitage*),³⁷ where we find the *cell* of the elder and surrounded by the *cells* of the disciples, *Brethren*. The excavations of the site of Kellia show that the development of this type of Cell or *Manshopi* is from the seventh century³⁸ and although it disappeared in Kellia it remained in the vicinity of the monastery of Saint Macarius. The mention of the water being salty and that the brethren were not accustomed shows that this *Manshopi* was not too ancient. The *Apophthmata Patrum* mentioned a similar miracle: Patermthius made seawater drinkable to quench his disciple's thirst.³⁹ This detail concerning the water in Scetis is also mentioned in the Latin version of the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*.⁴⁰

³⁶ Regnault 1999, p. 42.

³⁷ Evelyn White 1932, pp. 259, 280–281, 361–363; Zanetti 1996, pp. 278–279, 288.

³⁸ Favre Decembre 1988, pp. 20–29.

³⁹ Chaîne 1960, no. 216, p. 63 (text), p. 36 (translation).

⁴⁰ Guy 1993, p. 41.

5. *Take the vessel of water in which they drink in the church, and from the water left, after receiving the holy mysteries, put into this bitter spring of water, and it shall become sweet, by the might and power of God.*

This practice is also mentioned in the *Book of the Churches and Monasteries* attributed to Abu al-Makdrim/Abu Salih:⁴¹ We find in the section concerning the Monastery of Saint Macarius:

For many years the Nile did not flood up to the 25th of Abib.⁴² The fathers, the monks of the monastery of Saint Macarius in Wadi Habib, started to do the prayer over the Basin as on the feast of SS. Paul and Peter, on the 5th of Abib⁴³, and took it to the Nile and poured, so it flooded extremely on this day. And it became a custom for them until nowadays.⁴⁴

The life of the patriarch Peter 109 of the number of the patriarchs mentions:

And he (Peter) sent a group of clerics and a company of the bishops, and he went forth with them to the bank of the river, and he celebrated the Offering of the Mystery of the Eucharist. Then he finished this and he washed the vessels of the Service, and he cast their water into the river. And its waves were immediately agitated, and they were troubled, and they boiled up as a cauldron boils, and they overflowed...⁴⁵

We know that this patriarch, Peter, copied the book of the *Philalethes* of Severus of Antioch.⁴⁶ It is possible that he received his inspiration from the *Life of Severus*. Our manuscript, which is a property of the patriarchal cell, was copied only few years before this event. Although these two events are late but they prove that this custom was known in the desert of Scetis.

6. *It is related again that this reverend father Severus fell in the hands of some heretics by the way and they harmed him and cut from him a member, which is kept until now in the monastery of Abba Macarius.*

For the relics of Severus, we possess three sources:

⁴¹ Our references refer to the edition of Samuel al-Suriani 1984, p. 4 vols, For specific studies cf. Samuel al-Suriani 1990, p. 78. (For codicology and Composition) Zanetti 1995, pp. 85–133. (For the Authorship and Influence) Den Heijer 1993, pp. 209–219. (Social study of the Delta) Martin 1997, pp. 181–199. Martin 1998, pp. 45–49. Youssef 1998–1999, pp. 45–54.

⁴² This date corresponds to 19 July in the Julian calendar or 1 August in Gregorian calendar. For the importance of the flood of the Nile cf. Bonneau 1964.

⁴³ This date corresponds to the 29 of June in the Julian calendar or 12 of July in the Gregorian calendar. For this rite cf. Burmester 1932, pp. 235–254.

⁴⁴ Samuel al-Suriani 1984, fol. 68a, p. 119.

⁴⁵ Khater- Burmester 1970, fol. 267r, p. 173 (text), p. 306 (translation).

⁴⁶ Youssef 2001, pp. 261–266.

⁴⁷ For these books cf. Hanna Malak 1964, pp. 1–35. Zanetti 1995, pp. 65–94.

- The Liturgical Books:⁴⁷

A) *Coptic Synaxarium*⁴⁸ commemorates St Severus three times a year: second Babah (arrival of Severus at Egypt)⁴⁹; tenth Kihak (the translation of the relics of Severus to the Monastery of al-Zugag); fourteenth Meshir (his death).⁵⁰

B) *The Coptic Antiphonarium* (The Difnar), mentioned for the days of second Babah,⁵¹ (the arrival of Severus of Antioch to Egypt); tenth Kihak (the arrival of Severus of Antioch to the Monastery al-Zugag)⁵²; fourteenth Meshir (the rest of Severus of Antioch).⁵³

- *The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*: here it is mentioned that in the life of the patriarch Khael I (743–767 AD) that a part of the relics of Severus was kept in Al-Farama.⁵⁴ It is noteworthy to mention that this biography of Khael is attributed to John the monk.⁵⁵ In twelfth century, Yuhanna Ibn Said al-Qulzumi⁵⁶ saw a finger of St Severus in the Monastery of the Romans, (Deir al-Baramus) in the Wadi Natrun.
- *The Book of the Churches and Monasteries attributed to Abu al-Makdrim/ Abu Salih*:⁵⁷ We find in the section concerning the Monastery of Saint Macarius:

In the Monastery (of Saint Macarius) there is a church named after Saint Severus the patriarch of Antioch; it was restored by Qarun the monk of the cell known as *al-birarkhis Andiokhia*, which means the Patriarch of Antioch. And in this church are some of the relics of this Severus which are the hair of his beard and a tooth and his finger, and they are kept in the bloster in the window of the apsis.⁵⁸

Speaking about the monastery of the Romans (Deir al-Baramus) the same book mentions:

There is a church named after Saint Isidorus, where are kept the body of Timar and the finger of Mari Severus. The number of the monks dwelling in it by the end of the month of Baramhat 804 EM⁵⁹ was twenty.⁶⁰

⁴⁸ For a study of the different versions of this liturgical book cf. Coquin 1977, pp. 351–365.

⁴⁹ Basset 1907, pp. 313–314. Forget 1962, pp. 48–49.

⁵⁰ This commemoration is attested by the calendar of the seventh century. Cf. Gascou 1989, pp. 84–392 especially pp. 390–391.

⁵¹ Burmester 1938, pp. 164–165. O’Leary 1926, pp. 27–28.

⁵² O’Leary 1926, pp. 82–83.

⁵³ Burmester 1939, pp. 134–135. O’Leary Vol 2, 1927, pp. 44–45.

⁵⁴ Evetts 1908, p. 202 [456], Seybold 1962, p. 211.

⁵⁵ Den Heijer 1989, p. 145.

⁵⁶ Atiya, Yassa ‘Abd Al-Masih, Burmester 1959, pp. 226–227 (text), pp. 358–359 (translation).

⁵⁷ Cf. supra.

⁵⁸ Samuel al-Suriani 1984, fol. 68b, pp. 119–120.

⁵⁹ This date corresponds to the 26 March in the Julian calendar on 8 April in the Gregorian calendar 1088 AD.

⁶⁰ Samuel al-Suriani 1984, fol. 71a, pp. 125–126.

In the section concerning the Monastery of Zugag we read:

Miniat al-Zugag where there are the body of Abba Batra (Peter), and the body of Severus, the Patriarch of Antioch in a marble basin. It was mentioned that it was buried under the altar in the upper church of this monastery.⁶¹

The same information is repeated in the section of the monastery of the Fathers:

The church of Tor tantroy (= τὸν πατερων), which denotes the monastery of the Fathers, was on the sea shore north-east, and at the end of the month of Baramhat 804 of the pure martyrs⁶² there were forty-four monks. In this region there were six hundred inhabited monasteries for monks and nuns, and thirty-two fields called Antakibia, all of which were orthodox, during the patriarchate of Anba Butrus (Peter),⁶³ the 34th patriarch. In this monastery there is the body of Saint Severus, the patriarch of Antioch, he was born in the year 832 of Alexander, and was baptised when he attained thirty years. There is also the body of Peter the confessor, bishop Gaza,⁶⁴ and the body of Saint Batra (Peter).⁶⁵

We can conclude that the account concerning the relics of Severus in the Monastery of the Fathers and that from the Monastery of al-Zugag are identical, the latter being a repetition from the compiler of the book. It appears that this book took the information from the same source as the *Syanxarium*, which could be the Arabic life of Severus attributed to Athanasius. The account of the relic of Severus in the Monastery, mentioned in the History of the Patriarchs, is one of the sources of this book. Meanwhile, the account concerning the relics of Severus in the Monastery of Saint Macarius is unique and original: it confirms well our text.

Actually some of the relics of St Severus are kept in the feretory of the Monastery of the Syrians in the Wadi N' Natrun.⁶⁶ It is clear that the Biography of Severus attributed to Athanasius tries to explain the presence of his relics in Scetis, a tradition attested in the eleventh century, but it seems that this in turn reflects an earlier tradition (the Coptic fragments this life are earlier).⁶⁷

⁶¹ Samuel al-Suriani 1984, fol. 88a, p. 151.

⁶² This date corresponds to the 26 March in the Julian calendar on 8 April in the Gregorian calendar 1088 A.D.

⁶³ Cf. Evetts 1907, pp. 470–472 [206]–[208].

⁶⁴ This should be identified as Peter the Iberian. On Peter the Iberian cf. Kugener 1907, pp. 219–223.

⁶⁵ Samuel al-Suriani 1984, fol. 91b, p. 157.

⁶⁶ Meinardus 1970, p. 189. Meinardus 1999, p. 321.

⁶⁷ Goodspeed and Crum 1907, p. 578.

In the visit of Severus to Scetis, we cannot find any allusion to Daniel the famous hegumen of Scetis.⁶⁸ The explanation is easy, since we know from the life of Daniel of Scetis that he was in the hand of the barbarians three times; that he travelled to Upper Egypt, and to Constantinople. Hence the visit of Severus of Antioch could take place during one of the absences of the hegumen.

To conclude the section of the visit of Severus of Antioch to Scetis: according to the Arabic *Life* it shows several features of the seventh century. Hence the author of this text, Athanasius bishop of Antioch of the first part of the seventh century according to the incipit, seems to be authentic.⁶⁹

B. Severus of Antioch and a local tradition of Scetis.

Professor P. Allen highlighted the importance of the letters of Severus as being a good source of the history of his life.⁷⁰ I will highlight a local Scetian tradition in a letter of Severus of Antioch to Caesarea in which he wrote:

But, as to the kings, hear a story of the holy men of old that has been transmitted and has come down to us. They said that the religious emperor Theodosius sent someone secretly to father Nisthora, the God-clad old man, begging of him to pray that a male child might be given him: and, on the day on which the messenger reached his cell in the desert, it happened that that old man had died two or three hours before. Therefore when that man knocked at the door, immediately the old man rose up and sat down according to his custom.... and said to him: "Say to Theodosius, 'Because God loves you, he will not give you a *malakion* for after your reign the faith shall be corrupted, and the faith of Nestorius shall prevail, and God does not wish the evil to be done through your seed'". This father Nisthora was a celebrated man, so that his words are recorded in several of the books, which contain tales of the holy old men.⁷¹

The following relevant facts are known:

- This letter is dated by the editor between 519–538, *i.e.* after the exile of Severus of Antioch.
- Two desert fathers known from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* bore the name of Nisthora.

⁶⁸ Clugnet 1901, p. 33.

⁶⁹ The latest study in this subject is in Orlandi 1968, pp. 401–402.

⁷⁰ Allen 2004, pp. 4–5.

⁷¹ Brooks 1915, pp. 333–334 [161]–[162].

- The *Alphabetical Collection*⁷² mentions Abba Nisthora the great,⁷³ and Abba Nisthora the coenobite.⁷⁴
- The systematic Collection mentions the names of Abba Nisthora the Great⁷⁵ and Nisthora.⁷⁶ The first Abba Nisthora the great was a friend of Saint Antony,⁷⁷ which means that he lived before the reign of the Emperor Theodosius.
- The second Abba Nisthorah the coenobite was a contemporary to Saint Poemen⁷⁸ who was a young man at the time when the sack of Scetis took place in 407, and he died after Arsenius (449).⁷⁹

Therefore it is clear that the Nisthora mentioned by Severus should be identified as Nisthora the younger or the coenobite. He was a contemporary of Poemen, and the sack of Scetis during the reign of Theodosius II. The letter of Severus clearly refers that Nisthora was mentioned in the collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* but at the same time it shows that this story was not taken from that collection.

John of Nikiu

And the emperor Theodosius sent a letter to the desert of Scete, in Egypt, in order to consult the saints, because he had no male offspring to succeed him on the throne. And the saints wrote as follows: 'When thou quittest this world, the faith of thy fathers will be changed; for God out of love to thee has not given thee a male offspring lest it should become wicked.'⁸⁰

The book of the Antiphonarium (Difnar) of the Coptic Church mentions the same story for the feast of the XLIX martyrs of Scetis:
The Psali Adam

αφοϋωρπ νχε ποϋρο θεοδωσιος νοϋραιωινι νταϋ nem
οϋεπιστολη μαρτινος πε φραν μπιρωμι μραιωινι nem
διος περϋηρι πιπαρθ εθοϋαβ πιμαγιστριανος nem
περκοϋχι νϋηρι αϋφορ ψα νιζελλοι νιςδαι μποϋρο
εταϋωοϋτ τηροϋ νχε νιζελλοι ετςμαρωοϋτ εχεν
†πετρα ντε πιανοϋν ναϋωϋ μπιςδαι ντε ποϋρο
μμαινοϋτ. αϋερϋφηρι εμαϋω εχεν περθεβιο. αϋχος χε
αϋϋανδι νκε ι νςζιμι μμον οϋι νδητοϋ ναμιςι ναϋ αν
εταϋβι ννιςδαι νχε πιραιωινι nem περκοϋχι νϋηρι

⁷² Guy 1984, pp. 225–275.

⁷³ Migne 1965, Col. 305–308.

⁷⁴ Migne 1965, Col. 307–310.

⁷⁵ Guy 1993, pp. 112–115, no. 18; pp. 410–411, no. 15. Guy 2003, pp. 186–187, no. 91.

⁷⁶ Guy 1993, pp. 114–115, no. 19.

⁷⁷ Guy 1993, pp. 112–115, no. 18.

⁷⁸ Guy 2003, pp. 318–319, no. 46.

⁷⁹ Guy 1993, pp. 77–79.

⁸⁰ Ch. 87:14, cf. Zotenberg 1883, pp. 349–350; Charles 1916, pp. 105.

ετασθωου ρα πογρο αφερworπ η̅ε̅μι ν̅ε̅ αββα ιωαννης
 χ̅ε̅ νιβαρβαρος α̅γ̅ι ε̅δ̅ω̅τε̅β̅ μ̅μ̅ω̅ου̅...

The king Theodosius sent his messenger with a letter. Martinus is the name of this messenger and his holy celibate son Dius. The *magistranus* and his young son delivered to the elders the script of the king. When all the blessed elders assembled on the rock of Piamoun, they read the script of the God-loving king. They were greatly amazed by the king's humility. They said if he will take ten other wives, none of them would bring forth for him. When the messenger and his young son took the reply to the king, Abba John knew in advance that the barbarians are coming to kill them...⁸¹

The Psali Batos⁸²

αφοworπ νογqαιwini ν̅ε̅ πογρο θεοδoσιoς wα
 νι̅δ̅ε̅λλοι̅ ε̅τ̅ς̅μα̅ρ̅ω̅ου̅τ̅ ε̅τ̅δ̅ε̅ν̅ π̅ι̅τ̅ω̅ου̅ ν̅τ̅ε̅ w̅ι̅ζ̅η̅τ̅ β̅o̅ν̅
 o̅γ̅w̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ μ̅μ̅o̅n̅o̅g̅e̅n̅h̅ς̅ μ̅μ̅α̅ρ̅τ̅ι̅n̅o̅ς̅ π̅ι̅q̅αι̅w̅ι̅n̅ι̅ α̅q̅ι̅ ν̅ε̅μ̅α̅q̅
 ε̅β̅ι̅ μ̅π̅ι̅ς̅μ̅o̅τ̅⁸³ ν̅ν̅ι̅δ̅ε̅λλοι̅ ε̅τ̅α̅ ν̅ε̅ν̅ι̅o̅τ̅ ε̅θ̅o̅γ̅α̅β̅ w̅w̅
 ν̅n̅i̅ς̅δ̅αι̅ ν̅τ̅ε̅ πογρο α̅γ̅θ̅ω̅ου̅τ̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅o̅υ̅ ε̅υ̅ς̅o̅π̅ ε̅χ̅ε̅ν̅ τ̅π̅ε̅τ̅ρ̅α̅
 ν̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅α̅m̅o̅υ̅ν̅ π̅ε̅χ̅ω̅ου̅ μ̅π̅ι̅μ̅α̅γ̅ι̅ς̅τ̅ρ̅ι̅α̅n̅o̅ς̅ χ̅ε̅ α̅χ̅o̅ς̅
 μ̅π̅i̅o̅γ̅ρ̅o̅ μ̅μ̅α̅i̅n̅o̅υ̅τ̅ χ̅ε̅ α̅κ̅w̅α̅ν̅b̅ι̅ μ̅ ī̅ n̅ς̅z̅i̅m̅i̅ φ̅τ̅ n̅α̅τ̅ n̅α̅k̅
 n̅α̅ρ̅o̅χ̅ α̅ν̅ ε̅θ̅ε̅ π̅ε̅q̅μ̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅δ̅o̅υ̅ν̅ ε̅ρ̅o̅k̅ χ̅ε̅ n̅n̅e̅ χ̅ρ̅o̅χ̅ n̅τ̅α̅k̅
 μ̅o̅γ̅χ̅τ̅ n̅ε̅m̅ n̅i̅z̅e̅r̅e̅ς̅i̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ς̅w̅q̅ ε̅τ̅o̅γ̅n̅α̅τ̅w̅o̅υ̅ν̅ δ̅ε̅n̅
 τ̅ε̅κ̅κ̅λ̅η̅ς̅i̅α̅. ε̅τ̅α̅γ̅τ̅ δ̅ε̅ ν̅n̅i̅ς̅δ̅αι̅ μ̅π̅o̅υ̅τ̅λ̅o̅g̅o̅ς̅ μ̅π̅i̅q̅αι̅w̅ι̅n̅ι̅
 z̅η̅π̅π̅e̅ i̅ς̅ n̅i̅b̅a̅r̅b̅a̅r̅o̅ς̅ α̅γ̅ι̅ χ̅ε̅ n̅t̅o̅γ̅δ̅w̅τ̅ε̅β̅ μ̅μ̅ω̅ου̅ π̅i̅w̅o̅r̅π̅
 n̅δ̅η̅t̅o̅υ̅ α̅β̅β̅α̅ ι̅ω̅α̅ν̅n̅h̅ς̅ π̅ε̅χ̅α̅q̅ χ̅ε̅ i̅ς̅ n̅i̅b̅a̅r̅b̅a̅r̅o̅ς̅...

The king Theodosius sent a letter with a messenger to the blessed elders in the mountain of Scetis (Shihit). There was a unique son of *magistranus*, the messenger who went with him to get the blessings of the elders. When our holy elders read the king's script, they all gathered on (known as) the rock of Piamoun and they said to the *magistranus*, 'Report to the God-loving king that even if you take ten wives, God will not grant you a seed because of His love for you, so to prevent your seed from being mingled with the impure heresy which is destined to rise in the church.' When they gave their answer to the messenger, behold the barbarians came to kill them. The first among them, Abba John, said: 'Here are the barbarians...'⁸⁴

The *Synaxarium* of the Coptic Church provides more details, and we give here the Arabic text for its importance

اليوم السادس والعشرون من شهر طوبة
 في هذا اليوم استشهد القديسين الابهات الرهبان والشيخ التسعة والاربعين
 والرسول وابنه وسبب استشهادهم ان كان على زمن ثاوديسيوس الملك ابن

⁸¹ O'Leary 1927, p. 26. For some variations cf. Stork 1995, pp. 408–409.

⁸² "The tone to which hymns are sung on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday. The name is taken from the first word of the first stanza of the Theotokia of Thursday The Bush (= batos) which Moses saw in the desert." Cf. Burmester 1975, p. 322.

⁸³ Read π̅ι̅ς̅μ̅o̅τ̅.

⁸⁴ O'Leary 1927, p. 27.

ارغاديوس الملوك الابرار ان ثاودسيوس لم يكن له ولداً فارسل الى الشيوخ بشيهاث يسلمهم ان يسلموا الله فيه فيعطيه ولداً وكان فيهم شيخ كبير يسمى **يسيدوره** كتب الى الملك يعرفه ان الله ما اراد ان يخرج منك ولداً حتى لا يشارك ارباب البدع بعدك فلما وقف الملك على رسالتهم بذلك شكر الله وسكت فاشار عليه قوم ارياء ان يتزوج امرأة اخرى ليرزق منها ولداً يرث الملك من بعده فاجابهم ما افعل شيئاً بخلاف امر الشيوخ ببرية مصر لان صيتهم كان قد خرج في اكثر الدنيا قارسل رسولاً يستاذنهم في ذلك وكان للرسول ابن فطلب منه ان يصحبه ليتبارك من قدس الشيوخ ولما وصلوا الى الشيوخ وقروا كتاب الملك وكان ابينا الاب **يسيدوره** قد تنيح فاخذوا الرسول واتوا الى حيث جسده وقالوا للجسد يا ابونا قد وصلت هذه الكتب من عند الملك وما نعرف بما نجاويه فجلس الشيخ المتنيح وقال ما قلت للملك ان الرب ما يرزقه ولداً يتنجس بالخلاف فلو تزوج عشرة نساء لم يرزق منهم ولداً ثم عاد القديس وانضجع فكتبوا المشايخ للرسول جواب الكتب ولما عزم بالخروج واذا البربر قد اتوا فوقف شيخاً كبيراً يقال له بولس وقال للاخوة هوذا البربر قد اتوا...

The twenty-sixth day of the month of Tubah. In this day the holy fathers the monks, the Forty-Nine elders, and the messenger and his son suffered martyrdom. The story of their martyrdom, at the time of king Theodosius the son of Arcadius the pure kings, is that Theodosius being without a male child, sent to the elders in the desert of Sctis (Shihat) requesting their prayers to God that he might grant him a son. Among them was an aged father called '*Isidurah*' who wrote to the king informing him that God did not intend you to get a son who would be associated with the leaders of the heresies after your time. When the king was informed about the content of their message, he thanked God and was content. Certain wicked persons advised him to marry another woman and get a son to inherit the kingdom after him. He answered them, 'I will not do anything against the will of the elders of the desert of Egypt, for their reputation was known all over the world.'

He sent a messenger to get their approval for that affair. The messenger had a son who asked to go in his company to receive a blessing from the holy elders. When they reached the elders and read the king's message, our father '*Isidurah*' had reposed, so they took the messenger to where his body (of '*Isidurah*') was laid and said to the body: 'Our father, a message came from the king and we do not know how to answer him.' The reposed elder then sat up and said: 'Have not I said to the king that the Lord would not give him a son who would be polluted by the heresy, even if he would marry ten wives, he would not have a son.' Then the holy man reposed again.

The elders wrote to the messenger their response but when he was ready to go, the barbarians came. An aged elder called Paul said to the brethren: 'The barbarians had arrived and...'⁸⁵

In the Coptic text, which narrated this story it is absolutely clear that the holy elder who announced the coming of the barbarians was John, while in Forget's edition he was Paul. According to White: he was most likely to have been John.⁸⁶ This confusion between the two names frequently occurs in the Copto-Arabic literature.⁸⁷

The name of the elder was يسيدوره *'Isidura'* which is a misspelling of the name نسيدوره.

Nisthōra, already mentioned in the letter of Severus of Antioch. The letter also has other similarities, i.e. the message of the king begging a child, and the dead elder who rose up to talk to the messenger.

There is a psali dedicated to the Forty-Nine Martyrs of Scetis attributed to a certain Hermina in the actual Book of Psalis, but it seems that it is from a late date and does not contain any important detail.⁸⁸ The doxologies published in the popular edition of the book *Tartib al-Bay'h* (The Order of the Church), are based on six manuscripts in the Patriarchal Libraries (Cairo and Alexandria), the Monastery Baramous, the Monastery of Suriani, the Monastery of Saint Antony and the church of Tanta. There are Doxologies for the Forty-Nine martyrs only in the Manuscript of Saint Anthony dated 1377 AM (= 1661 AD).

As we have demonstrated before, one would expect to find this doxology in the Library of the Monastery Suriani where the cult of the martyrs of Scetis was observed for many centuries and also their relics are kept in the monastery of Saint Macarius. But it is important to be aware of the link between the two Monasteries. In the latter part of the XVth century the Bedouins, who lived in the monastery to serve the monks, destroyed the monastery of Saint Anthony and its library. In the history of the Monastery of al-Suriani, we read that the patriarch Gabriel VII (1525-1568 A.D) assisted in the rebuilding of the monastery of Saint Anthony by sending twenty monks from the monastery al-Suriani to rebuild the monastery of Saint Anthony, taking with them their own manuscripts. It is probable that our doxologies were copied from another original in the library of Scetis. The doxologies do not contain any detail about our story.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Forget 1963, p. 233.

⁸⁶ Evelyn White 1932, p. 165.

⁸⁷ Coquin 1993, p. II note 1.

⁸⁸ Qommos Philotaos al-Maqari 1913, pp. 460-466.

⁸⁹ Samuel al-Suriani 1984, pp. 412-415.

The *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* mentions in the list of the relics:

وبهما ابست $\overline{\text{M}\Theta}$ وزينون الملك وولده

and the Forty-nine $\overline{\text{M}\Theta}$ [and in Arabic] bihma Absit, and Zeno the king and his son.⁹⁰ It seems that the author of this text confused *Magistrinus* with the name of Zeno.

Conclusion

The study of the Coptic liturgical and historical books of the Coptic Church shows the evolution of the story of Theodosius. These events are confirmed by the letter of Severus of Antioch to Caesaria, which contains an oral tradition, which survived also in the commemoration of the Forty-Nine martyrs of Scetis. The elder could be identified as Abba Nisthora the coenobite, a contemporary to Abba Peomen of the fifth century. The later texts such as the doxologies and the Psali do not pay attention to the detail of the story. The *Synaxarium* is more accurate than the history of John of Nikiou. Evelyn White had a shrewd comment on the story of the martyrdom of the elders of Scetis:

The story of the massacre in its main outline may be accepted, for it contains a certain amount of circumstantial detail which is not likely to be invented and the main facts in it are probable enough.⁹¹

The confusion between the name of *Isidorus* and Nisthora is due to the Arabic misreading.

Appendix

We will give in this appendix the text of section concerning our study from the unpublished or less-known publications. The texts from the *Synaxarium* and *History of the Patriarchs* are available to the reader. The Arabic text of the sojourn of Severus according to his Arabic biography is here given:

Arabic text of the sejour of Severus according to his Arabic biography

فمضى الى دير ابو مقار وكان فيه راهب من الصعيد عمال⁹² اسمه مقارة وكان قدس فظهر له الله ان هذا هو ساويرس البطريرك فخرج اليه اكرمه مثل كرامة⁹³ الرسل الابا والرووسا لانه

⁹⁰ Atiya, Yassa 'Abd Al-Masih and Burmester 1959, fol. 179r, p. 227 (text), p. 358 (translation)

⁹¹ Evelyn-White 1932, p. 166. Emphasis added.

⁹² Fortasse legend — اعمال الصعيد.

⁹³ A — كرامت.

جاهد وارضى جهاده⁹⁴ على الامانة المستقيمة وكان في قلاية الراهب القديس عين ما مرة وكانوا الاخوة الرهبان قلقين لذلك فتقدم مقاره الشيخ القديس اليه ليعلمه بان الله يستجيب له فيما يطلبه واعلمه لاجل العين الما مرة والاخوة قد قلقوا من قلة الما فقال البطريك للشيخ القديس الراهب صلاتك يا ابي تكفي في هذا وغيره فلح الشيخ عليه * في الطلب والسؤال في ان يدعوا الله بان يحلوا العين الما من اجل راحة الاخوة من التعب لبعد الما عنهم فقال السبع الثاني المتكلم بالعظيم اعني ساويرس البطريك لمقارة الشيخ * الراهب القديس اذا تقرب الاخوة خد المطهرة⁹⁵ التي⁹⁶ يشربوا فيها الما في البيعة وما فضل فيها من الما عند فراغ تناولهم من⁹⁷ السراير المقدسة اقلبه في هذه العين المرة فانها تحولوا بقوة⁹⁸ الله تعالى وقدرته وكان الشيخ الراهب فيه امانة جيدة ففعل ما امره به فحليت تلك العين الما الى يومنا هذا مثل مياه اريحا لما عبرها اليسع النبي. وذكر ايضا ان هذا الاب الجليل ساويرس لحقه قوم من الهرطقة في بعض الطرق ونالهم منهم صعوبة شديدة وقطعوا منه عضواً وان هذا العضو في دير ابو مقار الى الان.

The rite of blessing the water in the Monastery of Saint Macarius

وكان النيل لم يزد زيادة في بعض السنين الا الى الخامس والعشرين من ابيب فاعتمد الآباء الرهبان بدير القديس ابو مقار بوادي هبيب ان يعملوا لقان ماء ويصلوا عليه كما يعمل في عيد بولس وبطرس ويحملوه الى البحر فيسكبونه فيه فيزيد الماء في هذا اليوم زيادة بالغة وصار عندهم رسماً الى الآن

Relics of Severus according to the book of Abu al-Makarim/Abu Salih

1- In the Monastery of Saint Macarius

وبالدير (بيعة) على اسم القديس ساويرس بطريك انطاكية جددھا قارون الراهب في القلاية المعروفة بالبيريبرخس اندي اوخيا تفسير الكلام بطريك انطاكية وفي هذه البيعة بعض اعضاء ساويرس هذا وشعر لحيته وضرسه وخنصره في قطمرة في طاق الاسكنا.

2- In the Monastery of the Romans (Baramus)

وفيه (بيعة) للقديس ايسيدروس وفيه جسد طيمار واصبع ماري سورس وعدة الرهبان الذين فيه الى آخر برمهاة سنة اربع وثمان مئة للشهداء الاطهار عشرون راهبا

⁹⁴ A — بجهاده.

⁹⁵ A — المظهرة.

⁹⁶ P — الذي.

⁹⁷ A-¹ فراغهم من تناول.

⁹⁸ A — باذن.

3- In the monastery of Zugag

منية الزجاج وفيه جسد ابو بطره وجسد ساويرس بطرك انطاكية وهو جرن رخام بالاسكندرية في عاشر وذكر انه مدفون تحت المذبح في كنيسة علو هذا الدير

4- In the monastery of the Fathers

(بيعة) طور ماناروي وتفسير اللفظ اعنى دير الآبا وكان على ساحل البحر شرقي بحري الديارات وفيه الى آخر برمهات سنة اربع وثمانمائه للشهداء الاطهار اربعة واربعون راهبا وكان بهذا الموضع ستمائه دير عامرة بالرهبان والرهبات واثنتين وثلاثون ضيعة تسمى انطاكيا وجميعهم ارثوذكسين في بطريكية انبا بطرس وهو الرابع وثلاثين في العدد. وفي هذا الدير جسد القديس ساويرس بطريك انطاكية وغرق في سنة اثنين وثلاثين وثمانمائه للاسكندر وكان تعميده بعد تمام ثلاثين من عمره وفيه جسد باتورس المعترف اسقف غزة وفيه ايضا جسد القديس بطره.

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Aspects of Material Culture at the Iron Age Capital on the Kerkenes Dağ in Central Anatolia

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Abstract

The exceptional Iron Age capital on the Kerkenes Dağ in the upland centre of modern Turkey is the largest pre-Hellenistic city in Anatolia. It appears to have been a new foundation established at the end of the seventh century BC. It was destroyed by fire and its 7 km. of stone defences thrown down in, it seems, the mid sixth century BC after which all but the acropolis of this 250 hectare site was abandoned. Recent research has revealed considerable evidence for Phrygian culture, including architecture, inscriptions and graffiti. This paper selectively summarises these new discoveries while making a preliminary attempt to place them within a wider Anatolian setting.

Introduction¹

This paper ultimately stems from two presentations given at the *Third Colloquium on the Ancient Near East — The City and its Life* held at the

¹ Many reports, graphics, bibliography, lists of team members and sponsors, in both English and Turkish, can be found at: www.kerkenes.metu.edu.tr I am grateful to, amongst oth-

Middle Eastern Culture Centre in Japan in March 2004. The theme of this most excellent and enjoyable meeting was “Cultural Continuity and Discontinuity in Ancient Anatolia”. I am pleased to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Sachihiro Omura for generously extending an invitation to present two papers at this colloquium, one on recent discoveries at Kerkenes and the other placing those discoveries in a wider setting. Since the Tokyo meeting there have been two further seasons, in 2004 and 2005, of geophysical survey and excavation at Kerkenes.² These recent results have amplified evidence of cultural associations while definitive studies of a sculpted monument inscribed in Old Phrygian together with graffiti and other sculpture are eagerly awaited.³ Otherwise, both dendrochronological confirmation of a sixth century date and positive proof for dating the destruction to the middle of the century continue to be frustratingly elusive.

In keeping with the original flavour of the presentations given in Japan, the interpretations placed on incomplete evidence and suggestions that are built on those interpretations in this paper are very tentative. This is very much a work in progress. On the other hand, completion of the current

ers, Susanne Berndt-Ersöz, Scott Branting, Nicholas Cahill, Kieth DeVries, Catherine Draycott, Hermann Genz, Crawford Greenewalt, Peter Kuniholm, Oscar Muscarella, Kenneth Sams, David Stronach, Françoise Summers, Natalie Summers and Mary M. Voigt for much valuable discussion, and to Marie-Henriette Gates for careful reading of a draft copy. I should add that while Françoise Summers has not co-authored this paper, without her continual drive and energy none of what follows would have been possible.

² I am pleased to acknowledge here the support of the University of Melbourne, and particularly Antonio Sagona, the depth of which is deeper than the collaborative grant that the University of Melbourne made towards the 2005 season. We expect that Kerkenes will continue offer mutual academic stimulus as well as opportunities for interaction and participation.

I would also like to thank the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Culture, and particularly the General Directorate of Museums and Cultural Assets as well as the staff of the Yozgat Museum, Governors of Yozgat province and District Governors of Sorgun together with the many local officials who have wholeheartedly welcomed us and facilitated our work. We hope that we have in some small way reciprocated through the full involvement of Turkish students as well as the implementation of the Kerkenes Eco-Center Project aimed at village development and rural sustainability.

The research is officially sponsored by the BIAA. In addition to the Melbourne support already mentioned I would single out the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the Joukowsky Family Foundation and the Oriental Institute at Chicago University, as well as an anonymous donor, for support of the excavations at the Monumental Entrance to the palatial complex while the Lafarge Foundation supports research students involved in the Kerkenes project at the Middle East Technical University at Ankara.

It would take several pages to name all of the individuals, institutions and organisations, Turkish and foreign, who have provided support and as much again to acknowledge the individual contributions of the many team members. Such is the nature of a large international project. I can only offer a collective thank you!

³ Brixhe and Summers (in press), sculpture is being studied by Catherine Draycott.

program of excavation at the “Cappadocia Gate” and the “Monumental Entrance to the Palace Complex” in 2005 might make this selective summary of current thinking of some value to students of Iron Age archaeology in Anatolia and beyond.

Location of Kerkenes and its Identification with Pteria

Kerkenes is located on a low granitic mountain on the northern edge of the Cappadocian Plain (Fig. 1). The choice of this elevated and exposed position demonstrates preferences that outweighed the disadvantages of long and bitter winters combined with exposure to strong winds.⁴ Caravans or hostile forces alike approaching Kerkenes from the south and southeast would have been impressed or intimidated by distant views of its gleaming new walls. The position commands a natural east-west route, today followed by the modern transcontinental highway, while overlooking several possible ways northwards to the Black Sea, south to the Cilician Gates or southeast towards the mountain passes of the Anti-Taurus.

One important factor in the choice of this particular location was doubtless the relative abundance of perennial water seeping from fissures in the granite. Part of an explanation for the exceptional size of the walled city, 2.5km² surrounded by seven kilometres of stone defences pierced by just seven city gates, may very well have been the desire to include sufficient water sources within the circuit (Fig. 2).⁵

It seems reasonable to suggest that the ancient name of this, the largest known pre-Hellenistic city in Anatolia, would occur somewhere in the ancient records. If this presumption has validity there is only one candidate, and that is the place that Herodotus calls Pteria.⁶ This equation was first perceived by Przeworski a year after von der Osten's first publication of the site,⁷ while the arguments were more fully set out by the present author.⁸ The textual evidence has recently been subjected to detailed scrutiny by

⁴ A suggestion made early on in research at Kerkenes, before the truly urban nature was understood, that the city might have been a seasonal capital has been abandoned.

⁵ On the east side of the Kale, for instance, the line of the wall appears not to follow the most defensible line of the Kale itself but a course further to the east, with the result that springs at the base of the Kale lay protected within the defences.

⁶ It is however true that the ancient name of Midas City, to take but one example, is unknown. On the other hand, if the dates of the foundation, and consequently of the destruction, are to be raised significantly it might be expected that some mention of the city at Kerkenes would be recognisable in Neo-Assyrian records from the time of Midas.

⁷ Przeworski, 1929, following Osten, 1928. For the history of exploration see, for the moment, Summers and Summers 1998.

⁸ Summers 1997.

Tuplin.⁹ There is no cause to repeat or amplify those arguments here; suffice it to say that the strong arguments in favour of identifying Kerkenes with Pteria depend on the destruction being in some way connected with events surrounding the “Battle of Pteria” fought between Cyrus the Great of Persia and Croesus, King of Lydia, around the middle of the sixth century BC. This would have taken place but a few weeks before the capture of the Lydian capital Sardis for which a date in the 540s seems highly probable.¹⁰

Kerkenes as a new Foundation

Whether or not the Kerkenes Dağ was the Hittite Mount Daha and regardless of what Hittite cult installations may lay buried beneath, or have been obliterated by, Iron Age structures and terraces, it is safe to say there was no urban settlement at the site before the foundation of the Iron Age city.¹¹ No Second Millennium pottery or objects have ever been found. Ten years of extensive and intensive remote sensing, employing balloon photography, micro-topographic differential GPS survey together with a variety of geophysical methods have shown that the major streets and many of the urban blocks were laid out only after the line of the city defences and, at the same time, the position of each of the city gates had been decided upon (Figs 3 and 4).¹² There are good reasons to think that much of the urban plan together with the internal division of urban space, formed an integral part of the process of founding the city — indeed it is hard to imagine that it could have been otherwise — even if many less desirable portions of urban space, such as steep slopes and marshy areas, were left open in the initial phase of establishment.

The short Life of the City

The city, despite its size, strength and grandeur, was only in existence for a short time. This clear conclusion can be demonstrated by the results of geophysical survey. Survey of almost the entire urban space with a fluxgate gradiometer combined with substantial areas of the lower part of the city by

⁹ Tuplin 2004. Strobel 2005 makes no reference to Tuplin *ibid*, and is therefore less useful.

¹⁰ Cahill and Kroll 2005, pp. 605–608.

¹¹ For the identification with Mount Daha see Gurney 1995, and for an alternative location see Gorny 2005.

¹² A summary of methods is given in Branting and Summers 2002.

means of resistivity produces imagery of remarkable clarity. This high visibility of sub-surface remains is in part precisely because there are no remnants of older structures beneath those that were standing at the time of the destruction. It is true that the city was a continual building site, evidence for the gradual filling of space within one urban block leading to increasingly crowded structures being discernable in, for instance, **Figure 5**, but there seems always to have been sufficient space for the erection of further buildings without the need to resort to demolition of the old to make way for the new. Excavations in the lower part of the city have done nothing to alter this picture of a single building period with “horizontal stratification”. The one (known) exception to this picture is at what we have called the “Palace Complex” (**Fig. 6**). Here an early massive structure of obviously defensive nature was replaced by a monumental program of palatial building, part of which involved major modifications to and partial demolition of the primary scheme so as to insert a Monumental Entrance to what is thought to have been an “Audience Hall”. That there should have been radical alterations to public buildings on such an impressive scale within a small number of years need occasion no surprise when compared to Sardis where it appears that all the phases of truly massive Lydian fortifications have to be squeezed into less than 70 years.¹³ Kerkenes may not have lasted longer. While an earlier estimate of less than forty years was based on the (incorrect) assumption that the defences and much of the city were unfinished at the time of the destruction, extending the life of the city to as much as 100 years might be equally mistaken. Although discussion of the length of time that elapsed between the foundation and the destruction of the city has no direct bearing on the absolute date of either event, it does have important implications with regard to the circumstances of the foundation and the identity of the founding power.

Destruction by Fire

Whether the city was taken by force or capitulated without offering resistance is unknown. No evidence of a fight has come to light, but only one gate has been investigated. In any event, some time after its capture the city appears to have been systematically looted and its major buildings put to the torch.¹⁴ Immediately after the burning, before rain had washed charcoal

¹³ Cahill and Kroll 2005, especially p. 609.

¹⁴ The geomagnetic imagery appears to show that major buildings were deliberately torched rather than fire sweeping across the city from one or more centres. The evidence suggests that buildings were cleared out before the fire since, so far, no signs of hurried flight have been found.

from the glacis face, the entire seven-kilometre circuit of stone defences was thrown down. Following this undeniably hostile act the city was abandoned. The act of throwing down the defences, thereby rendering them useless to any future claimant to the site, was in itself an undertaking requiring command of not inconsiderable manpower and organisation. It is also a sure indication that the conquering power had not the intention to stay and rule, but to destroy and move away. While none of this is incompatible with the city being held by Croesus, destruction coming only on the approach of Cyrus and his army, it does not constitute more than one possible interpretation.¹⁵

None of the discoveries made so far at Kerkenes are incompatible with a mid sixth century date for the destruction and abandonment. It is anticipated that dendrochronology will eventually confirm dates in the first half of the sixth century or, just possibly, slightly earlier for the construction of buildings.¹⁶

Towards the Identification of Cultural Traits

Excavations on a significant scale at Kerkenes began only in 1999 as the remote sensing survey of the entire city was drawing to a conclusion. Excavations were initiated for two reasons, firstly so as to reveal monumental public architecture and, secondly, in an attempt to obtain evidence that would lead towards the cultural identification of the city's inhabitants.

Work at what was dubbed the Cappadocia Gate immediately revealed that the defences had been completed before the destruction of the city (Fig. 7a). More gradually, evidence was uncovered that appeared to display greater West Anatolian cultural orientation than had been expected, culminating in 2003 with incontrovertible evidence for the presence of a Phrygian cult at the gate along with discovery of graffiti and, at the Monumental Entrance to the Palace Complex, relief sculpture inscribed in the Old Phrygian language. From the moment of those discoveries the focus of research at Kerkenes has been directed towards the identification of Phrygian and non-Phrygian cultural traits. What follows is a discussion of work in progress. Further study of excavated material will inevitably lead to

¹⁵ Those who argue that the entire account of these events as retold by Herodotus is of no historical worth will, of course, reject any attempt to link them with the archaeological evidence.

¹⁶ <http://www.arts.cornell.edu/dendro/2002news/2002adp.html>. Samples recovered in 2005 are now being examined at Cornell. We are deeply indebted to Peter Kuniholm for his support and encouragement.

deeper insights as well as to revision of current interpretations. Moreover, the selection of topics is not in any way comprehensive or logical; rather, it reflects particular discoveries and topics of research that are sufficiently well understood for some cogent comments to be made, and for which it is also possible to provide some supporting illustration. Some issues which have been addressed elsewhere, all be it in preliminary form, are but briefly mentioned.

The Choice of Site

The elevated and exposed situation chosen for the city at Kerkenes, and indeed its general aspect, is strikingly reminiscent of the earlier, Bronze Age, capital of the Hittites at Hattusa (modern Boğazköy, now Boğazkale) the Iron Age name(s) of which is unknown, located only 50km to the north-north-east.¹⁷ The setting is quite unlike that of the Phrygian capital, Gordion, at Yassihöyük some 100km west of Ankara.¹⁸ However, at the time of the foundation of Kerkenes, Boğazköy was hardly of urban proportions and Gordion was succumbing to, if not already under, Lydian sway. Neo-Hittite cities in the Land of Tabal do not appear to offer useful parallels.¹⁹ Closer in time and, as supported by arguments set out below, closer in culture was Midas City in the Phrygian Highlands.²⁰ There is, however, little to compare between Kerkenes and Midas City beyond the choice of an elevated location for each.²¹

One dominating feature of Kerkenes is the Kale (**Fig 9b**). This natural, waterless, granite torr is crowned by a Byzantine castle (kale) which masks traces of earlier use, including Iron Age stone defences which have yet to be more precisely dated.²² Perhaps it is not completely coincidence that the sixth century capital of Lydia, at Sardis, is dominated by its high waterless acropolis,²³ as, to take but one well known later example, is Priene. This inclusion of a high and waterless acropolis that functioned as a last place of

¹⁷ Neve 1996, taf. II.1 and V.2.

¹⁸ Kealhofer 2005.

¹⁹ For a summary of the evidence concerning Neo-Hittite cities on the Anatolian Plateau see Aro 2003.

²⁰ Berndt 2002.

²¹ Although some rock-cut façades, architectural terracottas and pottery at Midas city can be dated to the first half of the sixth century BC, most of the occupation at Midas City appears to fall into the Persian and Hellenistic periods. Archaeological evidence for activity earlier in the Iron Age is at best sparse. Thus in the first half of the sixth century Midas city would seem to have been a cultic centre rather than a city. The date of the defensive walls is uncertain.

²² Summers 2001.

²³ Greenewalt *et al.* 2003, p. 14, fig. 3.

refuge within the city is not a Central Anatolian or Near Eastern tradition. The citadel at Hattusa was also the seat of royal power containing palaces and royal administrative buildings, as did the citadels of the Neo-Hittite and Assyrian cities. Nor, unless Ankara is an exception, do Phrygian cities have an acropolis of the type found at Sardis and Kerkenes.²⁴

Language

Doubtless many languages could have been heard on the streets of Kerkenes. Up until now, however, there is only evidence for one written language, Old or Paleo-Phrygian. Fragments from one inscribed monument bear two inscriptions (**Fig. 8a**), one naming the dedicant and one the dedication itself, both carved in the same hand at the same time.²⁵

There are, additionally, several graffiti scratched onto a variety of pottery vessels. Most comprise single letters, more than one occasionally occurring on the same vessel, with the majority being made after firing (**Fig. 8b**). These show that knowledge of the Phrygian language and its alphabetic script was widely understood within the city. The evidence of masons marks is less clear because these, though clearly of meaning, may not be alphabetic (**Fig. 9a**).

Finally, graffiti on a soft sandstone block built into the glacis at the corner of the Cappadocia gate appear to include alphabetic letters as well as more boldly incised cultic representations.²⁶ Loiterers at the gate could apparently doodle in Phrygian.

While the Kerkenes inscription is the easternmost known example of Phrygian writing, other Old Phrygian inscriptions are known from east of the Kızılırmak at Alaca Höyük and, nearby, on the peak of Kalehisar. Graffiti are known from Alaca Höyük, Boğazköy and Pazarlı.²⁷ It might thus seem unreasonable to suggest that the normal, everyday language of rule and administration at Kerkenes was anything other than Phrygian.

City Planning

Perusal of the remote sensing data sets from Kerkenes gives an impression of sense and order to the city plan not incompatible with some level of

²⁴ However, Gordion, Ankara and Dorylaion were all Phrygian cities well before the sixth century BC. For the Greek purpose of an acropolis see Lawrence 1979, pp. 126–27; and for similarities with Kerkenes, see Summers 2001, pp. 48–49 with n.9.

²⁵ Brixhe and Summers in press. New joins made in 2005 have demonstrated the need to revise earlier suggestions that there may have been more than one inscription in several hands.

²⁶ Summers in press.

²⁷ Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, “Ptérie”.

centralised city planning. This impression is especially strong at the northern sector of the city and immediately to the south of the West Gate, to cite but the clearest examples. The stone lined Sülüklü Göl (Leech Pond), which forms a focal point within the sector of public buildings on the high southern ridge, and the larger Büyük Göl in the lower part of the city, together with other reservoirs now largely silted up, would all seem to indicate some degree of imposed order. However, excavation of test trenches across streets in 2004 revealed a considerable accumulation of rubbish before the construction of one compound wall on the high southern ridge. While this result does not occasion any surprise, and does not of itself negate the idea that the greater part of the urban space was apportioned when the city was founded, it nevertheless demonstrates that construction did not proceed at the same pace over the entire urban area. It might be argued that the concept which underpinned city planning at Kerkenes, regardless of the speed of implementation, was one of enclosing space within a pattern of rectangular walled blocks or compounds. The limiting walls of these blocks, which appear to bound three or four sides of each enclosure, often had the dual function of being terrace walls retaining levelling fill. The irregular spaces between the blocks contained streets and passages, water-courses and small open spaces. The point here is that spaces were enclosed rather than streets being laid out.

There are no contemporaneous, sixth century, urban plans with which to compare Kerkenes. Concepts of centralised planning can, however, be seen at the earlier and exceptional mountain-top site of Göllü Dağ,²⁸ while what is now called the “New Citadel” at Gordion, perhaps to be dated as early as c.800 BC, exhibits planned regularity replicating many aspects of the destroyed Old Citadel.²⁹

The Division of Urban Space

With the exception of the acropolis and the original, short-lived, defensive structure at the eastern end of the “Palace Complex”, both discussed above, there are no traces of internal defences or divisions. If we are correct in our interpretations, there is a zone of public buildings stretching from the foot of the Kale at the southeast to what has been called the Göz Baba Gate at the southwest. These, as already mentioned, have the Sülüklü Göl as a focal point opposite the Cappadocia Gate. They include not only the Palace Complex but large structures to the east with storehouses or stables

²⁸ Schirmer 2002.

²⁹ Sams 2005.

on an imperial scale situated below a massive public structure and above the large, level, Field (Fig. 9b). These and other features are briefly described elsewhere.³⁰

Other exceptional buildings in various locations include large halls with ante-rooms and two rows of columns supporting pitched roofs³¹ as well as a pair of megarons.³²

What is not seen, however, are any traces of formal internal divisions of space. The zone of public buildings, while elevated and to some extent discrete, is not partitioned off from the rest of the city, still less provided with its own inner set of defences. Further, there are no obvious signs of physical division into wards or quarters. Perhaps the walls around the urban blocks and the Palace Complex provided sufficient demarcation in themselves, but the contrast with other Iron Age cities in Anatolia and beyond is striking.³³

The Defences

The Kerkenes defences were built entirely of stone (Figs 3 and 7a). The seven-kilometre long city wall stood, perhaps, some eight metres in height, while gates and major towers may have reached ten metres or more. The base of the vertical walling was protected and supported by a steeply inclined stone glacis. Gate towers at the Cappadocian Gate and, by extension at each of the seven gates, had a topmost course of faced sandstone combined with wooden elements. Apart from this restricted use of sandstone the defences were built of uncut granite most of which would have been levered away from natural outcrops no more than a few tens of metres from where they were needed. Large blocks of granite would have been manipulated with levers and ropes, then lowered into position from higher ground. Big stones are unlikely to have been lifted vertically more than the height of a man. Stones larger than three or four men could handle were, to judge from the collapse at the Cappadocia Gate, rarely used above shoulder height. In the defences, in contrast to the Palace Complex, the roughly trimmed granite was never cut, trimmed or smoothed and no use of clamps has been documented at the city gates.³⁴

³⁰ Summers 2000.

³¹ Summers 2006a.

³² Summers *et al.* 2004.

³³ Here I am thinking of the New Citadel and Lower Town at Gordion, for which see Kealhofer 2005, and perhaps a not dissimilar citadel mound and lower town in the Level II Period at Kaman-Kale Höyük. More distant (and earlier) are the Neo-Hittite cities such as Zincirli, see Mazzoni 1994, or the Urartian city of Rusahinili Eidurukai at modern Ayanis with its royal fortress and unwallled outer town, see Stone and Zimansky 2004 and Zimansky 2005.

³⁴ Clamp cuttings are discussed below. Their absence in the sandstone blocks at the Cappadocia Gate could have chronological significance.

The Late Bronze Age defences at the southern end of Hattusa are protected by a massive stone faced glacis, but in other respects Imperial Hittite defences display more differences than similarities to the Iron Age walls at Kerkenes. Iron Age defences at Boğazköy, on the other hand, although more modest in scale, are provided with solid stone walling strengthened by a stone glacis.³⁵

The ninth century BC excavated gate leading into the Old Citadel at Gordion was, like the Kerkenes gates, built entirely of stone. Closer in time, although less well preserved and not certainly built of stone to the top, was the rebuilt gate which led into a newly elevated and artificially extended citadel, and was approached by a man-made ramp retained by a massive wall of battered masonry.³⁶ It is not known if this battered glacis, with small vertical jogs and vertical bands of various naturally coloured stone, continued around the circuit of the wall, but it seems that there must have been some form of external support and protection for the wall base. Idiosyncrasies in this Gordion gate might be partially explained by the materials used for its construction as well as by the royal nature of the New Citadel.

Both nearer in scale and closer in date to Kerkenes are the Lydian defences at Sardis. If the identification of Kerkenes with Pteria is correct, then comparison with Sardis in the time of Croesus might be thought more appropriate than with subjugated Gordion after the collapse of Phrygian strength. Sardis too has a high waterless acropolis as well as yet more massive defences, although constructed of different materials to a very different design.

For the Kerkenes defences, then, attention might be turned towards Sardis for comparable scale within precisely the same time frame, to Gordion for the tradition of building entirely in stone and, not so far distant from Kerkenes, to Iron Age Boğazköy for a stone glacis. This is not to detract in any way from the achievements of the architectural genius responsible for the conception, design and completion of the Kerkenes defences which were unrivalled on the Anatolian Plateau.

Architecture: Two-Roomed Buildings

The standard building type at Kerkenes, as demonstrated by extensive geophysical survey and corroborated by limited excavation, was a freestanding two-roomed building with wide central doorways and a pitched roof

³⁵ Neve 1996, p. 17, p. 46 and p. 69 with fig. 198.

³⁶ This new gateway was constructed very soon after the fire which is now thought to have occurred as early as 800 BC.

(Fig. 10). There is some evidence, in the form of burnt clay with reed and wood impressions, for lofts under the pitched roof of the smaller front room.³⁷ It can be assumed that many and perhaps the great majority of these structures were houses. A small number of very much larger buildings, including the Audience Hall within the Palace Complex (Fig. 6), had the same basic plan and proportions; the addition of two rows of substantial wooden columns on stone bases to support the roof have also been identified.³⁸ Two exceptional buildings of megaron type (Fig. 11), with open porches rather than anterooms, are also known.³⁹ In their general form these buildings resemble the “megarons” of Gordion. There are marked differences however. At Kerkenes wooden columns were supported on stone bases rather than sleeper beams; there are no mosaic floors; and there is no evidence for tiled roofs.⁴⁰ Nor has evidence (yet) been found for balconies at Kerkenes.⁴¹ If more were known about buildings belonging to the first half of the sixth century at Gordion the differences between the architecture at two sites might not appear so striking. Further, it should be remembered that what we have at Gordion is an elite “royal” citadel, almost nothing being known of the lower town.⁴² Many of these architectural differences between the two capitals might be explained by disparity in date, approaching 300 years between the erection of structures in the Early Phrygian Destruction Level (YHSS 6A) at Gordion and the foundation of Kerkenes. Other differences doubtless stem from the particular properties of locally available building materials. Nevertheless, the Kerkenes two-roomed building form finds its best parallels at Gordion. It is surely significant that there are no megarons at Kaman-Kalehöyük,⁴³ and few buildings reminiscent of Kerkenes at Boğazköy.⁴⁴ Plans of poorly preserved Iron Age levels at Maşat Höyük⁴⁵ and Kültepe,⁴⁶ which must partially overlap with

³⁷ Earlier suggestions that roofs at Kerkenes were flat have not been supported by excavation. Susanne Berndt-Ersöz kindly points out to me that the idea of lofts may very well be supported by the rock-cut monuments of the Phrygian Highlands where shutters are sometimes depicted on pediments, *e.g.* the Unfinished Monument at Midas City and the Areyastis Monument.

³⁸ Summers *in press*. Wooden columns in the Audience Hall stood on carved sandstone bases c. 1m in diameter and 1m tall with slightly convex sides. In the Northwest Hall (Fig. 10), wooden columns rested on uncut granite slabs.

³⁹ Summers *et al.* 2004.

⁴⁰ Summers 2006.

⁴¹ There is incontrovertible evidence for internal balconies at Gordion, *e.g.* Young 1962, now dated to the ninth century.

⁴² Voigt 2005, p. 35.

⁴³ Mori and Omura 1995, Omura 1999.

⁴⁴ Neve 1999, p. 113 with figs. 28 and fig. 29.

⁴⁵ Özgüç 1982.

⁴⁶ Özgüç 1971.

occupation at Kerkenes, display characteristics not dissimilar to those at Kaman Kalehöyük.

In summary, two-roomed buildings at Kerkenes display western, Phrygian, characteristics rather than those of eastern Central Anatolia or Neo-Hittite settlements.

Architectural Embellishment

Turning now to architectural embellishment, excavation of the Monumental Entrance to the Palace Complex at Kerkenes has revealed unexpected sophistication.⁴⁷ The use of granite, above which was a course of large yellow sandstone and sandy conglomerate blocks followed by a course of equally large blocks cut from very soft white limestone, with large horizontal timbers between each course of stone, would have created a stunning effect. Both the sandstone and the limestone would have been hauled up to Kerkenes from a considerable distance away, perhaps a minimum of 5 kilometres.⁴⁸ Deliberate use of coloured stone for decorative effect can be seen at Gordion in the Polychrome House and, a little later, in the glacis supporting the external ramp up to the Middle Phrygian (eighth century) gate to the New Citadel.⁴⁹

Excavation at the Monumental Entrance has also produced a considerable number of highly distinctive architectural stone elements. Neither the complete forms, nor the precise number of these pieces has yet been established because of their fractured and burnt condition. Restoration of the many fragments is ongoing. Most distinctive are engaged bolsters in the form of two truncated cones joined at the narrower end. The term bolster was coined by the Gordion expedition (for attachments to bronze bowls) and is retained here for the sake of conformity. They tend to be three-quarters, and always more than half, in the round. There may be a single raised rib around the centre. The ends can be decorated, all of those from Kerkenes bearing concentric circles.⁵⁰ These same concentric circles are

⁴⁷ The primary function of this impressive Monumental Entrance to the Palace Complex was not defensive. It was meant to impress as much as to protect.

⁴⁸ Although the quarries have not been located, these sedimentary rocks do not occur on the Kerkenes Dağ which is itself a granite batholith.

⁴⁹ These parallels at Gordion are perhaps closer in concept to the architecture at Kerkenes than the deliberate use of contrasting orthostats in the Neo-Hittite world which reached its apogee at Carchemish.

⁵⁰ Where decoration is spiral, rather than concentric circles, it may be described as Aeolic or Ionic. That the bolsters described here can be clearly set apart from the Ionic tradition of spiral capitals does not necessarily prejudice the existence of some far-flung influence in architectural tradition.

sometimes used to represent bolster ends, usually if not always in pairs between three-quarter round engaged bolsters. Engaged bolsters have been found in a variety of sizes and several arrangements. It is highly likely that some have sheared off the sides of stone capitals (Fig. 12a) atop tall wooden columns up to a metre in diameter. Some blocks bearing engaged bolsters appear to have been set into wall faces whilst others (Fig. 12b) seem to have belonged to some freestanding monument. In addition there is one fragment of a small three-quarter round example in (carbonised) wood from the Ashlar Building.⁵¹

Stone bolsters are not infrequently observed in the rock-cut monuments of Phrygian Highlands in the Afyon Karahisar — Kütahya — Eskişehir region.⁵² Here bolsters or bolster-like elements occur in rows above rock-cut doors, as at Maltaş where small versions are also found on the king post,⁵³ and Deliklitaş.⁵⁴ The “volute capital” inside the Yapıldak monument together with the roundels either side of the king post on the exterior façade appears to be in the same tradition.⁵⁵ Small bolsters are found in a complex geometric arrangement on the rock-cut façade of the Bahşayış monument.⁵⁶ On a yet smaller scale not dissimilar elements can be seen on the legs of a *kline* in the rock-cut tomb *Kammergrab Nr. 13* at Midas City.⁵⁷ Further afield one late sixth or fifth century example can be seen on a Lydio-Phrygian tombstone from İkiztepe near Uşak.⁵⁸

Also of note is the use of concentric circles rather than spirals on the akroterion of the Areyastis Monument as well as on both the akroterion and the frieze of the Unfinished Monument,⁵⁹ and the akroterion of the Midas Monument.⁶⁰ Few if any of these Highland rock-cut monuments can have been carved much before 600 BC while some date to the Persian

⁵¹ No such wooden examples have been reported on the preserved furniture from Gordion or, to the best of my knowledge, elsewhere.

⁵² I do not know of any examples from the Ankara Region. Kenneth Sams kindly informs me that there are none from Gordion.

⁵³ Haspels 1971, pp. 85–86, figs 157, 158, 519 and 520.3; Berndt-Ersöz 2003, pp. 277–278 with references, and fig. 31.

⁵⁴ Haspels 1971, pp. 76–77, figs 210–214, 511.9, 512.2; Sivas 1999, pp. 110–114 with reference, and lev. 70–79.

⁵⁵ Haspels 1971, pp. 115–116 and fig. 532.3.

⁵⁶ Haspels 1971, p. 81, figs 516, 517.1; Berndt 1996; Sivas 1999, pp. 71–79 and lev. 30–41; Berndt-Ersöz 2003, pp. 280–281 with references, and fig. 32. See now Summers 2006.

⁵⁷ Berndt 2002, pp. 21–22 and Abb. 26; Hemelrijk and Berndt 1999, pp. 13–15; Özçatal 1992; Tuna and Çağlar 2000. Hemelrijk and Berndt correctly date this tomb to around 500 BC on the basis of parallels with Greek furniture. Architectural parallels are found on Achaemenid capitals in Iran, see Boardman 2000, figs 256a–b and 257 with pp. 76–77.

⁵⁸ Waelkens 1986, p. 37 and Fig. 1 no. 9; see now Roosevelt 2006.

⁵⁹ Haspels 1971, pp. 74, 78–79 and fig. 513.

⁶⁰ Haspels 1971, p. 74; Berndt-Ersöz 2003, p. 282.

Period.⁶¹ Thus the most distinctive architectural features of the Monumental Entrance to the Palace Complex find their closest, and indeed only, parallels in the Phrygian Highlands in the sixth century BC.

Swallow-tailed or dove-tailed clamp cuttings were used in the masonry of the Monumental Entrance to the Palace Complex at Kerkenes, one still retaining the charred remnants of its wooden clamp (Fig. 13a).⁶² Clamps were used to tie adjacent blocks together, as is shown by one rectangular sandstone block with a cutting in either end, and to tie together corner blocks with angled cuttings. In addition clamps were apparently employed to tie facing blocks to timber framing or joists. There is no discernable pattern to the use of clamps, and no standardisation of size, shape, depth or position; indeed the diversity in size as well as the irregularity in shape gives the impression that carpentry techniques are being applied to decorative stone facing blocks that infill the lower portions of a massive timber framed towers.

Smaller, neater and more regular clamp cuttings were made to mend cracked granite blocks in the towers of the Monumental Entrance (Fig. 13b).

Amongst the considerable literature on the use of clamps in the ancient Near East the central region of Anatolia has, until now, been ignored for want of evidence. Hittite architects used round, drilled, or square, chiselled, cuttings for metal and wooden dowels, but not clamps. The first use of dovetail clamps in the Eastern Mediterranean is currently thought to have been in the Late Bronze Age as evidenced by cuttings in the roof blocks of a tomb as well as in the vaulted roof of the stone gate at Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit.⁶³

In Turkey the earliest documented use of dovetail clamps is in the "Tomb of Alyattes" by the Lake of Gyges near the Lydian capital of Sardis.⁶⁴ It is not generally thought that the use of such clamps originated at Sardis, not least because of the evidence from Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast.

⁶¹ Berndt 2002, Berndt-Ersöz 2003.

⁶² The variation in the shape of the cuttings at Kerkenes is such that the clear-cut distinction between concave-sided "swallow-tail" and straight-sided "butterfly" clamps made by Boardman (2000, p. 21) is not applicable. No such cuttings have been seen in any of the masonry at the Cappadocia Gate, including the large cut blocks of sandstone that formed the topmost course on the flanking towers and which, as the pattern of burning on these blocks demonstrates, were used in combination with substantial timber elements. Further, no cuttings of any kind were found in masonry of the monumental Structure A atop the glacis at the eastern end of the Palace Complex, nor in any of the pseudo-ashlar granite blocks of the Ashlar Building within the same complex.

⁶³ Hult 1983, pp. 30–31.

⁶⁴ Olfers 1859, p. 548 with pl. II, fig. 4; Ratté 1989, p. 160, documents a solid lead clamp, square in section, although it seems reasonable to assume that the lead encased, and thereby protected, an iron cramp. I am grateful to Crawford Greenewalt for help with these references.

There is some scant evidence, not considered in a wider context until now, for the use of clamps at the Phrygian capital of Gordion. In the first report, more than 30 years ago, Young describes at the top of the lion orthostat, “a cutting [which] once held the end of a clamp which secured it to a bracing block”.⁶⁵ Kenneth Sams, in a fuller treatment of the Gordion orthostats, which must now be dated at least as early as the ninth century BC, reports that each has L or T-shaped cuttings for wooden clamps in the top and comments that one preserved socket “would have housed a somewhat carpenterial, right-angled clamp”.⁶⁶ An exceptional cutting on the under edge of his No. 3 is described as “being akin to a dovetail”. Sams also reports on the frequent use of square and rectangular cuttings for dowels as well perhaps as for lifting or manoeuvring stones, seen for instance cut into the base of a poros *akroterion*.⁶⁷ On the other hand there are no reports from Gordion of unsculpted blocks with cuttings for wooden dovetail clamps, either for mending or for tying to adjacent blocks or beams. But one implication of the revised dating of the Destruction Level at Gordion is that there are now no substantial remains of stone masonry belonging to the sixth century at the Phrygian Capital.⁶⁸

Additional evidence for the use of clamps in architecture at Gordion is reported from Tumulus MM, the construction of which is now dated by dendrochronology to about 740 BC.⁶⁹ Here wooden clamps were used to fasten timbers in the gable ends of the tumulus roof: “The two parallel timbers of each layer had been bound together by a wooden clamp across the vertical joint at the end, clamps of a type that ultimately came to be known as ‘double -T clamps’. Although the wooden clamps themselves had rotted away or fallen out and disappeared, the cuttings made to receive them were quite clear and their function unmistakable”.⁷⁰

At Kerkenes we have a large example of this form in iron, secured with large dome-headed nails which survived in place, and several smaller iron examples more dovetailed in shape. The nails demonstrate that these were used in timber construction, very possibly for binding large roofing elements like those in Tumulus MM and, although there is no evidence, it

⁶⁵ Young 1973, p. 16.

⁶⁶ Sams 1989.

⁶⁷ Sams 1994, fig. 20.2.

⁶⁸ The monumental defences at the Küçük Höyük, presumably destroyed in the mid sixth century, were constructed of mud-brick with timber lacing.

⁶⁹ DeVries *et al.* 2003 where the Cornell team now “puts the felling of the logs at 740 ±7/-3 with a strong probability of its being in the narrow range of 743–741”.

⁷⁰ Young 1981, p. 87, with figs 59, 64 and 65. The term “double-T clamp”, while convenient, is slightly misleading. The form is that of a strip or bar with square or rectangular ends. No photographs of these clamp cuttings have been published.

seems likely that this ironwork was recessed into timbers as well as being secured with nails.

At Ankara, however, there is evidence for the use of dovetail wooden clamps in the Phrygian period.⁷¹ These large clamp cuttings in sculpted andesite orthostats are deeper than those at Kerkenes but otherwise very similar, including the employment of particularly large clamps set at acute angles apparently so as to tie together blocks, or at Ankara orthostats, across corners.

In the Phrygian Highlands clamp cuttings have been reported on apparently reused blocks at Midas City as well as at the nearby stronghold of Pişmiş Kale where they perhaps secured blocks in the defensive wall to the bedrock. The precise date of these clamp cuttings is unclear.⁷²

It seems reasonable to propose that the crude, irregular and unstandardised dovetail cuttings used to mend cracked stone blocks (as well as to tie blocks to one another, or to structural timbers), represent the transfer of carpentry techniques from wood to cut stone masonry. Similar transference of traditions from wooden architecture into stone may be identified in the employment of stone for ornate capitals set on wooden columns, in a pair of strangely proportioned biconical sandstone bases from the lower, central area of the city,⁷³ as well the sandstone bolster elements embellished with incised concentric circles that are found in a surprising variety of sizes.

At Kerkenes neither clamps nor bolsters have been seen at the Cappadocia Gate or in the masonry of the monumental tower-like building, Structure A, that rose above the glacis at the eastern end of the Palace Complex; nor were they found in association with the Ashlar Building. Clamp cuttings and bolsters have yet to be found in the lower portion of the city, although little excavation has been conducted there. Stratigraphy shows that the Monumental Entrance was constructed late in the development of Kerkenes, while the pristine condition of inscribed and sculpted monuments of soft sandstone could point to a time close to the mid sixth century destruction of the city.

Sculpture

Two pieces of large-scale sandstone sculpture in the round have been discovered at Kerkenes: a fragment of a life-sized beast, probably a lion but

⁷¹ Güterbock, 1946, pp. 77–78, realised the significance of these clamp cuttings, seeing that they were original rather than secondary because they are found on seven different blocks from various locations.

⁷² Haspels 1971, p. 36 and pp. 42–43 with n. 51 and n. 52, figs 73 and 496 B and C. On p. 140, Haspels reports that all the finds from Pişmiş Kale were post Phrygian.

⁷³ Summers *et al.* 2004.

possibly a sphinx or griffin, and a figure in human form. These will be published elsewhere but a few comments might be apposite here.

Firstly the animal (Fig. 13c). Whatever type of beast it is, it possessed a mane depicted by zig-zag grooves which are paralleled in style, although not form, by and edging on the front of the mane of the large lion on the Yılankaya monument in the Köhnus Valley. Yılankaya is dated to the Persian Period.⁷⁴

As to the human figure, it is without exact parallel (Fig. 14). The gender is uncertain and there are no attributes to provide a clue as to its identification. The right arm, bent at the elbow, holds an unidentified object over the right shoulder. The left arm is missing, but was neither hanging straight down the side nor held against the body. It may have been extended forward, but could equally well have been raised. There is no head covering and no beard. Perhaps it was an attendant, in which case the figure it attended is lost. The most obvious piece with which to compare, close in both provenance and date, is the statue of a goddess, presumably Matar,⁷⁵ found in a covered shrine in an Iron Age gate on the Büyükkale at Boğazköy.⁷⁶ While there are similarities with this Boğazköy statue, in the choice of fairly soft stone as well as, for instance, in the grooved depiction of the skirt, the torso and face of the Kerkenes piece are more subtly and realistically moulded with almond-shaped eyes in low relief, less fleshy cheeks and chin, and discrete mouth. Thus the Kerkenes statue would seem to represent the apogee of an Anatolian style of stone sculpture in the round from late in the first half of the sixth century. While not perhaps owing very much to the Greek world, it would be wrong to consider it a provincial piece.

Cult

At the Cappadocia Gate a stele of semi-aniconic form was discovered *in situ* at the top of a built step monument. Graffiti depicting similar stele were carved into a soft block in the glacis at the front of the gateway. This discovery, more fully dealt with elsewhere,⁷⁷ is clear proof for the installation of Phrygian cult at one of the Kerkenes city gates.

⁷⁴ Von Gall 1999.

⁷⁵ The identification with Matar is generally accepted, e.g. Berndt-Ersöz 2004, p. 48 n. 2; Boardman 2000, pp. 93–94.

⁷⁶ Bittel 1958.

⁷⁷ Summers, (in press b).

Problems and Orientations

Kerkenes was the chosen location for a great capital, but neither the strength of its defences nor its exceptional size were enough to prevent it from being destroyed and deserted in the mid sixth century BC following an existence that did not necessarily span much more than 50 years, and surely fewer than 100. It was, very probably, the Pteria of Herodotus. Who then, in archaeological terms, were the Pterians; *i.e.* what characteristics of material culture might be recognised as “Pterian”? The founder of this new city had a conception. The idea of the city would have had not only antecedents but also deep-seated cultural roots. Where were these? Were they unitary (*i.e.* derived from a single cultural background) or multifarious? For how long had the Pterians, or the people who became the Pterians, been in the region before the foundation of their capital on the Kerkenes Dağ? The evidence of writing is that the Pterians used Old Phrygian, and besides there is evidence for Phrygian cult. Architectural parallels look westwards to Phrygia, stone bolsters being known only from the Phrygian Highlands. It is thus tempting to describe Pteria as a “Phrygian City”, but it is not like Gordion. Kerkenes is elevated and exposed, not surrounded by fertile agricultural land, and Kerkenes has a high, waterless acropolis but no “Royal Citadel”. If more were known about it perhaps sixth century Ankara would provide a parallel.

What was Pteria? It was never, I would submit, a part of the Phrygian state.⁷⁸ The city of Pteria did not exist during the lifetime of King Midas the Great and evidence can be adduced in favour of the view that Phrygian culture, if only as defined by pottery styles, did not extend east of the Kızılırmak before the middle of the seventh century.⁷⁹ It is thus tempting to think of the rise of the Pterian state in relation to the wider events that followed the collapse of Assyria. These include the demise of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms of Tabal; the expansion of Lydian power at, amongst others, the expense of Phrygia; and the growing power of Cilicia under kings titled Syennesis. Now another mighty power can be added to this list, Pteria. This new state, with its capital at Kerkenes, was not born not out of fear and

⁷⁸ Admittedly later sources are unanimous in placing the eastern border of Phrygia at the Halys River (modern Kızılırmak).

⁷⁹ See Genz 2000, Genz 2004 and Genz in press. Much of the pottery from Kerkenes resembles “Middle Phrygian” material at Gordion (Voigt pers. comm.). No dark on buff pottery of the Alishar IV style has been found at Kerkenes, although Alishar itself is but 23 kilometres away.

timidity but of boldness and assertion of power. Somewhere in this period was, according to Herodotus, a five-year war between the Medes and the Lydians. The culmination of this with the famous “Battle of the Eclipse”, a solar event dated by astronomy to May 28, 585 BC, might not have been an historical event; but that does not necessitate abandoning the Median-Lydian War entirely. We do not know the arena of this conflict except in so far as, again according to Herodotus and later sources, the boundary between Media and Lydia was fixed at the Kızılırmak in a treaty sealed by royal marriages. The Pterians had sided with the Medes, giving Croesus cause to enslave them. The picture emerging from archaeology at Kerkenes is somewhat different from Herodotus’ account. At Kerkenes, apart from one piece of sumptuous ivory,⁸⁰ which might very well have come from a Lydian workshop, there is nothing obviously Lydian; no Lydian pottery, no architectural terracottas. Nor is there anything recognisably Iranian.⁸¹ The ancient sources have been subject to much recent scrutiny,⁸² some of which is already obsolete as a result of discoveries from new excavations at Kerkenes. We are coming, then, towards a cultural recognition of Pteria in the first half of the sixth century although we remain almost totally ignorant of the historical circumstances of the city’s foundation.

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⁸⁰ Dusinberre 2002.

⁸¹ Dearth of imported or foreign material from sites on the Central Anatolian Plateau to the east of the Kızılırmak is not restricted to Kerkenes, or indeed to the Iron Age. Were it not for the tablets we would have but scant evidence for the scale of international trade in the Middle Bronze Age while imported material recovered at the Hittite capital, Hattusa, is also rare.

⁸² Tuplin 2004 with references.

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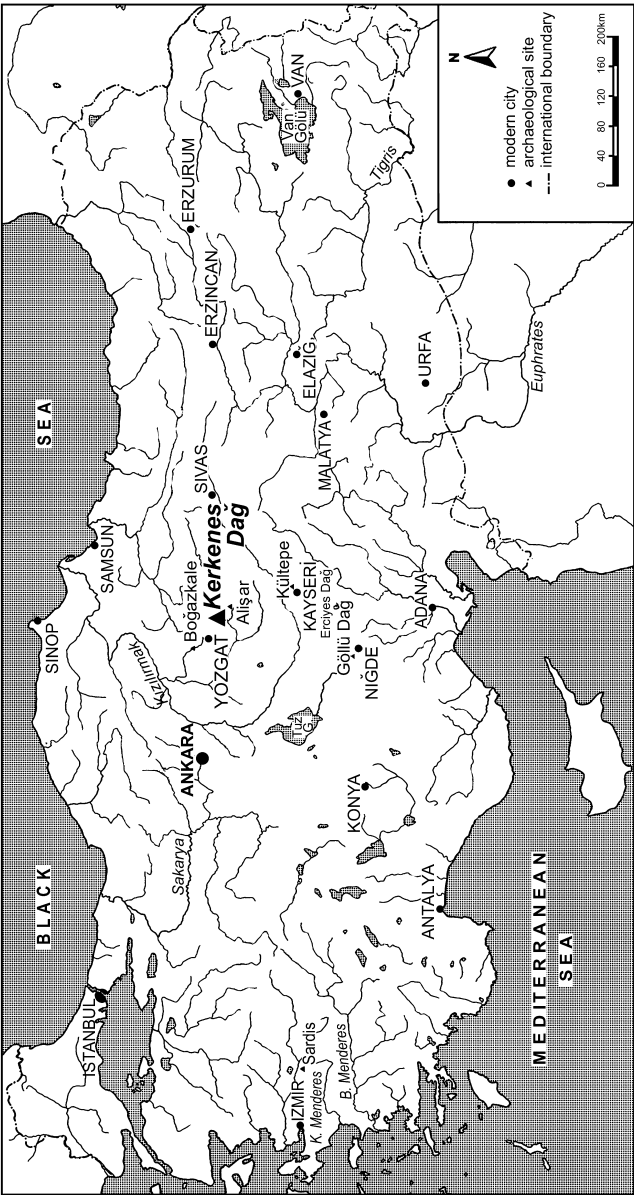
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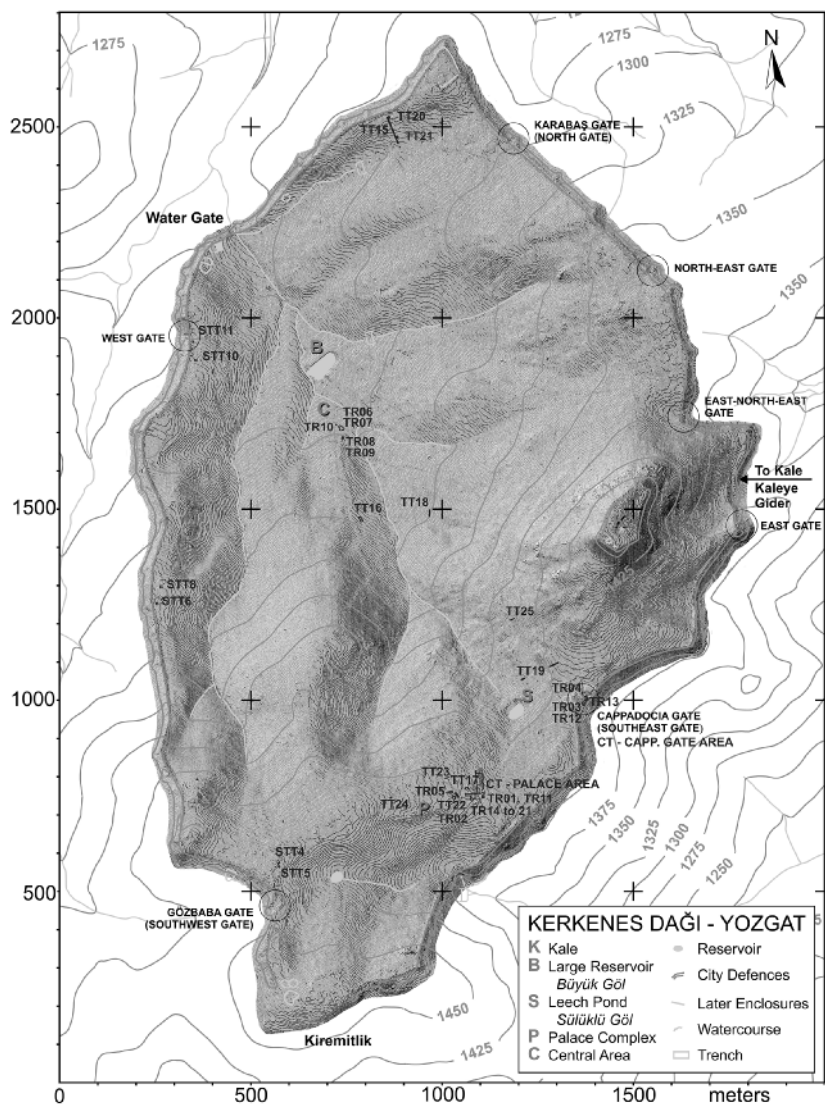
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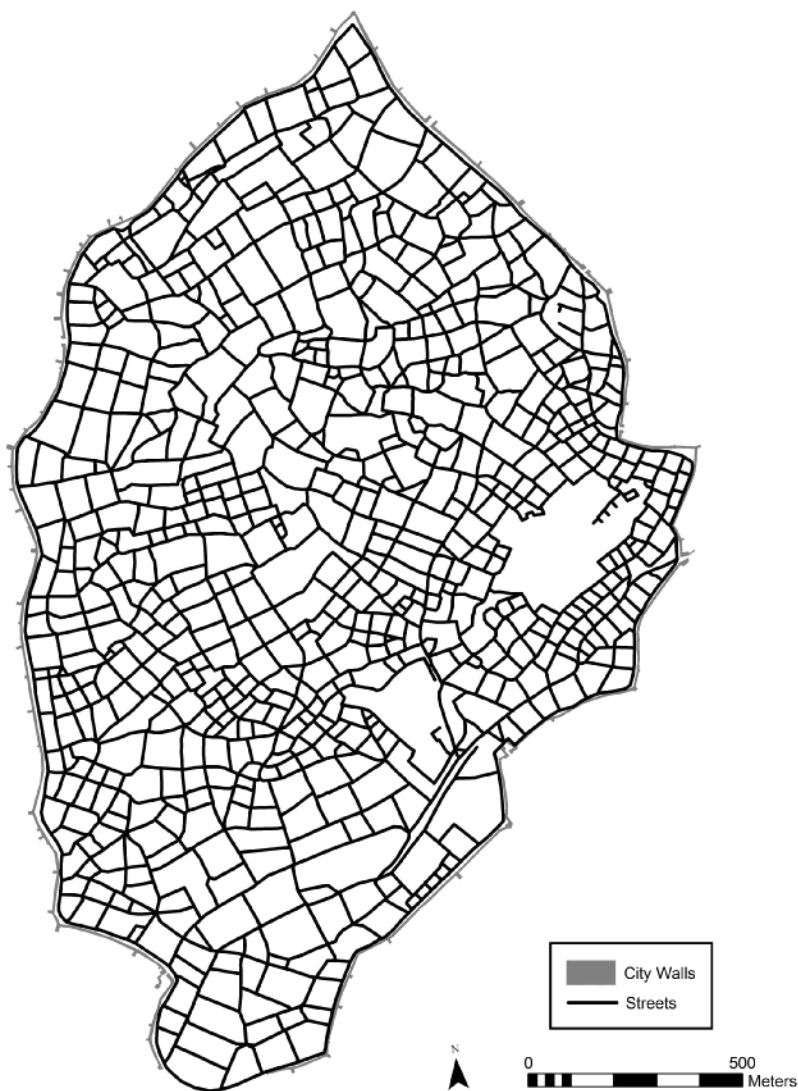
1. Map showing the location of Kerkeneş.



2. The entire city seen from a manned hot air balloon with the northern tip at bottom.



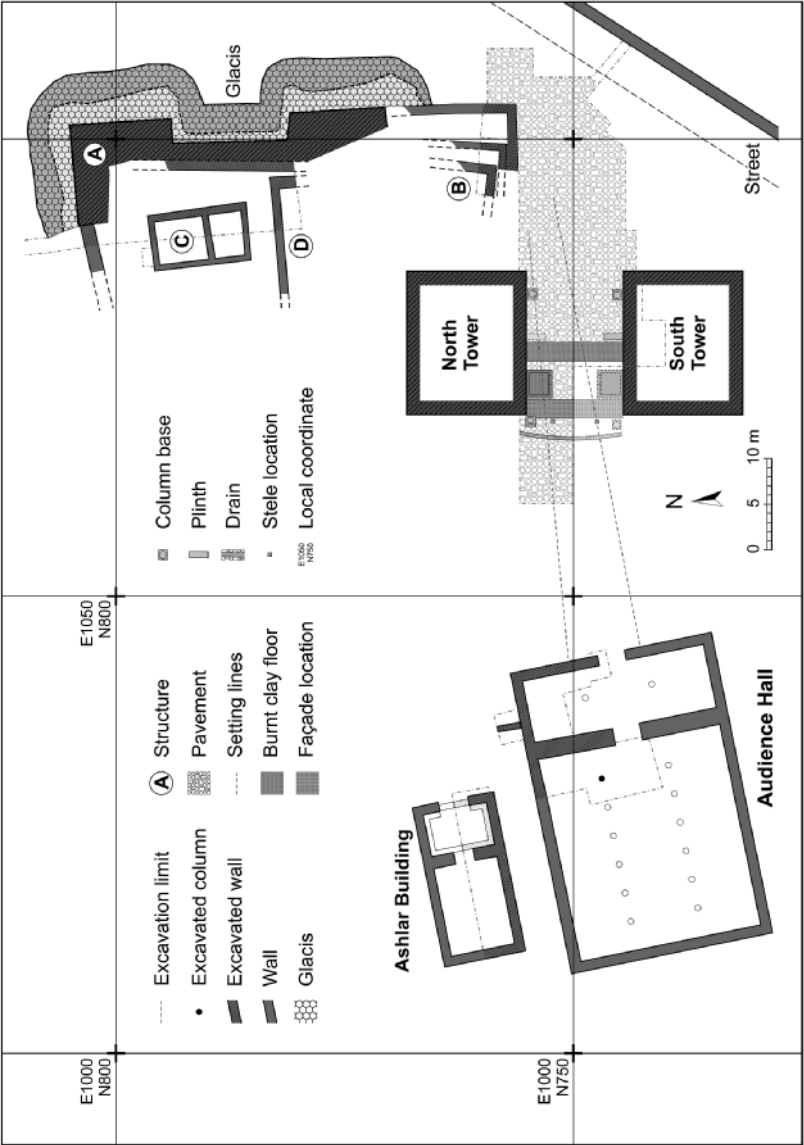
3. Map of the city showing the major features.



4. Tentative map of the streets from Scott Branting’s GIS Transportation Study.



5. Resistivity image of an urban block in the central sector of the lower portion of the city.
The area measures 140 by 120 metres.



6. Plan of the eastern portion of the Palace Complex.



7a. The Cappadocia Gate excavations with Kale behind.
The figure at upper left provides a scale (o3dpjv682o).



7b. The Kale with Leech Pond at centre left (96slvfo127).



8a. Part of the Old Phrygian inscription and small scale relief sculpture.
 Photograph by M. Akar (o6dpnko226).



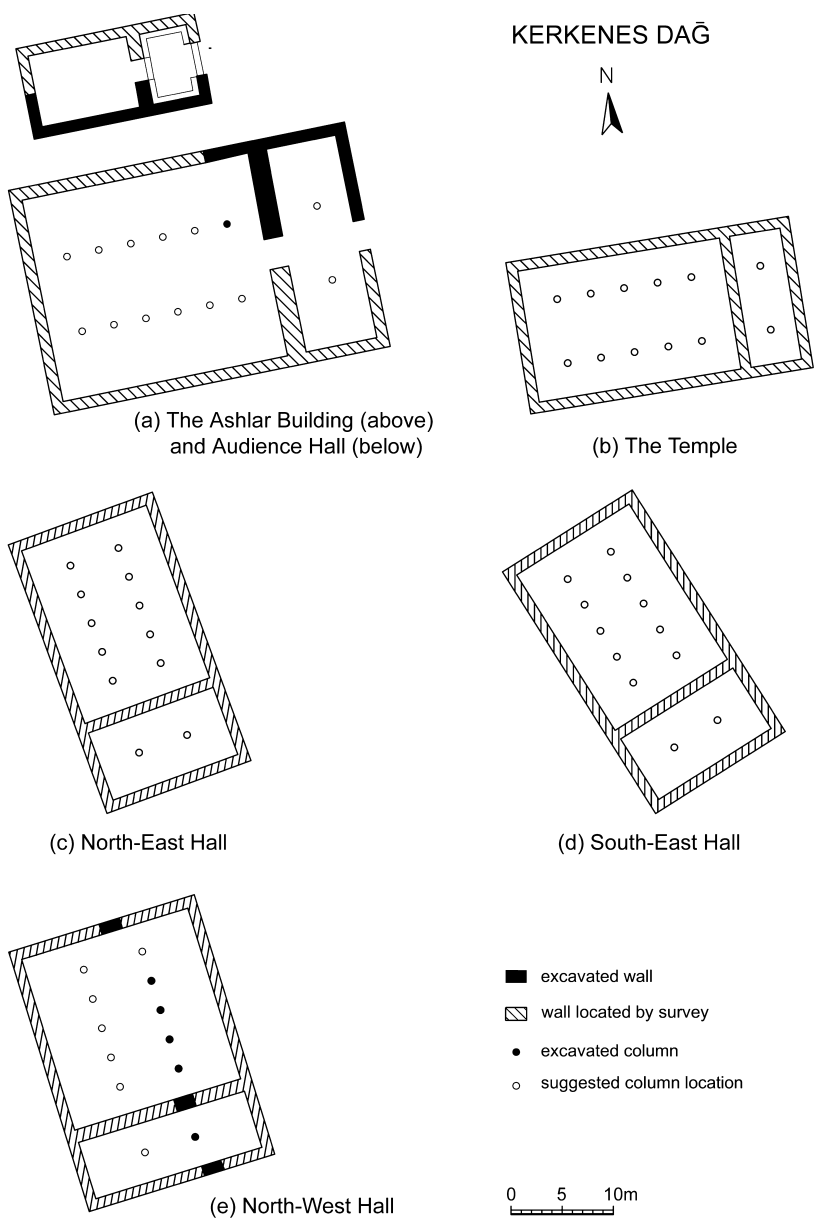
8b. Graffiti in Old Phrygian on the base of a pottery bowl.
 Photograph by C. M. Draycott (o4dpcs2111).



9a. Mason's Mark. Photograph by C.M. Draycott (05dpcso603).



9b. View of the Field and terraces on the high southern ridge with the Kale behind and the Leech Pond in the centre (96slvfi635).



10. Large two-roomed buildings at Kerkenes.



11. Excavation of one half of a megaron in the centre of the lower sector of the city, (o3dpjv4223).



12a. A large sandstone bolster, perhaps snapped off from the side of a capital to a wooden column (o5dpnc2025).



12b. A slab with engaged bolsters from a freestanding monument.
Photograph by M. Akar (o6dpnko227).



13a. A fallen block from the northeast corner of the South Tower at the Monumental Entrance with three clamp cuttings. The large angled cutting contained traces of a charred wooden clamp, (05dphp2111).



13b. Cuttings for small wooden mending clamps in a granite block on the corner of the southern tower to the Monumental Entrance, (05dph0605).



13c. Carved sandstone fragment representing part of the mane of a life-sized lion. Photograph by M. Akar, (005dpnk0112).



14. Sandstone statue from the monumental entrance, height *c.* 1.00 metre.
Photograph by M. Akar, (o6dnpnkoror).

Textile Production in Prehistoric Anatolia: A Study of Three Early Bronze Age Sites

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Abstract

The emergence of complex societies in Anatolia during the third millennium BCE created changes in socio-political organisation and an increase in economic activity through specialised industries such as textiles. In this study, the growth of textiles has been investigated through an intra-spatial analysis of activity areas and textile accoutrement at three Early Bronze Age sites with the aim of interpreting the importance of textiles within various social and economic systems. The Anatolian evidence for spinning and weaving during the third millennium BCE suggests that textiles were produced at a household level with minimal political management or control. However, the large quantity of implements indicates cloth production was an expanding, time-consuming task with significant implications to the economy. The large amounts of collateral data demonstrates that even without written evidence the increase in textile production can inform us about much larger issues of cultural complexity and social organisation in early states.

Introduction

The production of cloth is a labour intensive activity in which people have been occupied for millennia. The purpose of cloth is diverse and a powerful interaction exists between textiles and society. Clothing made for concealment and warmth may also have a strong symbolic function. The use of cloth within the household may be simple and plain, or the richness

of its fabric and design may signify prestige, wealth or tribal affiliation. While cloth production within a society may highlight gender and labour relations, externally the production of cloth may benefit a society's economy; on a local, regional or inter-regional scale.

Despite the paucity of actual cloth remains from the prehistoric Near East, immense amounts of archaeological data has been excavated that demonstrates textile production was a well-established industry as early as the Neolithic period.¹ In Anatolia, the textile remains from pre-ceramic sites such as Çatal Hüyük highlight that textile manufacture was part of the social economy before pottery production, and possibly even prior to agriculture and animal husbandry.² By the second millennium BCE, art, iconography and written documentation emphasise the cultural significance of valuable textiles and indicate the extensive use of cloth as currency to pay tribute, debts and even to service military campaigns.

The evidence from the third millennium BCE is more ambiguous. Without written documentation to provide an economic value and use for textiles, the verification for a substantial textile industry extends only to the remaining tools and installations that are left behind in the archaeological record. Thankfully, in many sites the data is numerous. Surprisingly, however, much of it has been left undocumented in most excavation reports. This research study hopes to add to our knowledge of prehistoric textiles by providing an effective archaeological analysis of the textile industry in Anatolia during the third millennium BCE.

Three different sites have been analysed to provide an examination of the development of textiles across Anatolia in the third millennium BCE. The data used for analysis has been collected from the site of Troy on the western coast of Anatolia, in central Anatolia from Alişar Hüyük, and in the east from the settlement of Sos Höyük (Fig. 1). The artefacts have been catalogued into a database representing the surviving textile remains dating to the third millennium BCE from each site.³ The tools and implements are artefactual indicators of textile activity. Each site yielded a clear stratigraphy

¹ Any actual textile remains are made from flax, but to-date there is little evidence to pinpoint whether domestic or wild resources were used: see evidence from, Nahal Hemar cave, Bar-Yosef 1995, pp. 202–203; Bar-Yosef and Alon 1988, Bar-Yosef 1985; Nahal Mishmar, Bar-Adon 1971, pp. 248–250; in Anatolia from Late Neolithic levels at Hacilar, see Mellaart 1961, p. 46; and from the Late Neolithic at Mersin, see Garstang 1953; and from Çatal Hüyük, see Mellaart 1967, p. 52, Helbaek 1963, pp. 39–46, Burnham 1965, pp. 169–174, and Ryder 1965, pp. 175–176.

² Barber 1991, p. 4.

³ A copy of the original thesis (Richmond 2005) with the complete Catalogue of Artefacts collected for this research can be found in the Ballieu Library at the University of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

and a variety of textile implements, however the methods of excavation at each site differed considerably and thus often crucial elements are missing.

Craft Specialisation and the Secondary Products Complex

The increase in agriculture commonly associated with the 'Secondary Products Revolution',⁴ resulted in a variety of noticeable changes in third millennium BCE economic and social structure. Domesticated animals developed closely with agrarian technical advancements. Cattle began to be used for traction, while equids were introduced from north of the Black Sea and put to use as pack and draught animals, thus widely increasing transportation and trade across the region. Ovicaprids were also exploited for secondary purposes, in particular wool augmentation for textiles and storable milk variations such as yoghurt and cheese.⁵

Settlement dispersal increased as previously marginal lands were now able to be cultivated using the plough. Areas that had previously been fully exploited by hoe settlers could be re-planted and sustained. The cart and the use of equids as draught and pack animals allowed travel to become much more economical than in previous eras. Trade and transport increased across different regions and between new settlements. This resulted in population increase and transitions into new and varied terrains, where forest plantations and irrigation systems helped established new larger sedentary towns. For the first time industries began to develop on which social economies could be based.

The move away from hoe cultivation to plough agriculture meant a change in labour responsibilities. Male roles shifted from hunting to pastoral husbandry, working more with domestic animals on and off site as well as intensifying crop development. These improved methods of farming allowed women more time to devote to domestic tasks such as spinning and weaving. The time devoted to textiles was significant, indicating that an increase in textile production was a direct result of an improvement in trade relations and the realisation that textiles could be a viable prestige item, produced primarily by women, which could benefit the growing economy.⁶

Spatial Organisation and Artefact Assemblage

This study is an intra-site analysis of activity areas and artefact distribution patterns relating specifically to textile production with the hope that

⁴ Sherratt 1981, pp. 261–305; Sherratt 1983, pp. 90–104.

⁵ Sherratt 1997, p. 159. See Sherratt 1997, pp. 174–180 for further information about the antiquity of dairying.

⁶ Burke 1998, pp. 7–11, 26.

the material remains will provide information about the importance and place of textiles within a particular culture. An inventory of all the textile-related objects found within bounded spatial units was collected for analysis. These items are spatially related even if they are not functionally so and must be analysed together, along with other associative matter including architecture, osteological and botanical remains, to provide an accurate account of the artefact inventory for each area.⁷ This contextualised account helps to construct a thorough investigation into activity areas in the settlement. This study is not an integrated spatial analysis; I have not studied the distribution of every object at the site from various assemblages. However, I have attempted to gain an understanding of the level of textile production in the third millennium BCE by concentrating solely on the artefacts relating to this discipline at this time.

Many different aspects of textile manufacture can be interpreted through the artefactual remains. The implements left behind in the archaeological record represent the tools used by ancient spinners and weavers to produce cloth. Changes to this tool kit over time might reflect changes within the social organisation of the settlement, while large amounts of accumulated data may help to highlight the degree of organised production at the site. The distribution of the artefacts within each site, in relation to each other and nearby architectural features, correlates and strengthens the development of spatial organisation. These remains can help to map out areas of domestic and public space, as well as offer insight into the size, status and organisation of the settlement and of individual household units.⁸

The classification of excavated finds is split into two distinct groups; the portable artefact assemblage, including bone, ceramic and metal tools, and the fixed architecture, which includes features and installations within the site's building remains. The organisation of the finds into locus groups provides essential data for identifying various tool kits and locating activity areas. The distribution of associated finds may help to identify the precise area within the site where textiles were being manufactured. This space can be analysed in relation to other domestic or public areas to help identify the nature and position of cloth production within the community.⁹

The evidence for spinning in the archaeological record comes largely from the many spindle whorls that are recovered from sites. Like most

⁷ Verhoeven 1999, p. 12.

⁸ Verhoeven 1999, p. 13.

⁹ The objects catalogued for this thesis have been collected primarily from the text and plates included in the site reports. In some cases the excavator will refer in the text to the presence of objects of a certain type without illustrating them or providing further information. The textile tools are categorised as functional rather than stylistic with individual items further distinguished on the basis of form or style.

things made of organic material, the simple wooden stick used as the spindle shaft rarely remains preserved in the archaeological record. It is therefore the small spindle whorl, made primarily of clay or stone that is frequently found at sites during excavation (Fig. 2a). Despite its size and simplicity, the whorl can tell much about the spinning industry at the site.

Groups of loom weights have also been found at sites from earlier periods suggesting that a version of the warp-weighted loom was used frequently across the Aegean and the Near East in prehistoric times. The free hanging weights used in the warp-weighted loom are often the only surviving record of the loom being used. The loom weights are mostly made of roughly fired clay, or stone and so they remain indestructible over time. The many weights which have been uncovered at archaeological sites indicate the use of the warp-weighted loom very early on in textile production and help to document its widespread distribution (Fig. 2b).

Bone awls or perforators are found at most archaeological sites and were in use throughout all prehistoric periods. There was considerable variation in the assortment of bone awls found at each site; not only in the amount of polish from wear but in the amount of preparation in forming the awl and in its size. Some appear to be sturdy with strong tips for heavy work while others are finely shaped to produce delicate needle-like points. Alongside spindle whorls and loom weights, bone awls and needles account for the most common textile-related artefact found during the third millennium BCE (Figs. 3a, 3b and 9).

Site Analysis

Troy

Despite the plethora of literature that has been published about the mound of Hisarlik and the ancient settlement of Troy, the latest findings are constantly superseding much of the knowledge that has been previously accepted by scholars. Although the most recent excavations by Korfmann and others have shown that the picture of Troy presented by Blegen and his predecessors was flawed in a number of important chronological respects, the reports produced by Blegen *et al.* are the only ones which supplied a full catalogue of textile artefacts from each level with a corresponding detailed description.¹⁰ Therefore, it is the Blegen reports to which I have

¹⁰ The latest account of Schliemann's excavations at Troy by Donald Easton also presents in detail the artefacts removed during excavation, however, there was still insufficient detail of textile-related artefacts to provide a qualifying account, see Easton 2002.

mainly deferred in order to collect and catalogue all the textile artefacts from Troy I to III and, where relevant, I have supplemented any findings from Korfmann's current excavations.

A range of faunal remains has been recorded from each trench of Troy I–III. Not every species is relevant to textile production but the osteological remains show that sheep (*ovis*) and goat (*capra*) bones occurred regularly in every level and in Troy II were the most frequent of all the faunal remains. The recurrent remains of sheep and goat are indicative of large stocks of wool producing animals and the abundance of spinning and weaving tools suggest these animals were kept primarily for the production of wool for textiles.

Of the clearly stratified levels of Troy I, Phase Ic was the most productive in terms of textile materials. According to the architectural remains the domestic structures had changed from large megaron-style houses to small huts, represented by house 101 (Fig. 4). Table 1 indicates that clay spindle whorls and bone awls were the most common tools recovered from the trench. Thirteen whorls were recovered within House 101 alone, although the majority of textile related implements appeared to have been excavated from the deposit immediately outside of the house.¹¹

As well as textile implements recovered from House 101, the carbonised remains of a plaited rush floor mat was also unearthed.¹² A hearth lay in the northern section of the room while most of the other remaining items were habitation debris, animal bones and pottery sherds. The presence of two loom weights signifies that household weaving, and in particular the use of the warp-weighted loom, was known in the earliest levels of the First Settlement at Troy.

There was a noticeable increase in textile remains by Troy II, in particular spindle whorls which were found in groups of two or more in nearly all phases. The most productive phase was the final strata, IIg, in which over one hundred spindle whorls were recovered, over thirty loom weights and nineteen bone awls of mixed type (Table 2). Interestingly, very few artefacts were recovered from the large palatial megarons that characterised the early public architecture of Troy II. Rather, private houses are more productive and account for the majority of remains after Phase IIc.

The fire that destroyed Troy II left behind a clearly recognisable stratum of household architecture and debris.¹³ The rooms containing the most interesting textile material were rooms 200 and 206. These rooms shared a

¹¹ Blegen *et al.* 1950, pp. 104–105.

¹² Blegen *et al.* 1950, p. 101.

¹³ Blegen *et al.* 1950, p. 321.

party wall and along with the remains of awls and spindle whorls a significant number of clay loom weights were also recovered (Fig. 5).¹⁴ In room 206 two post-holes were uncovered 0.25 m apart and 1.10 m distant from the wall along the south-eastern wall of the room. Lying in near perfect formation between the holes and the wall were several neat rows of loom weights, indicating that the postholes had once contained the remnants of the two uprights of a warp-weighted loom. Furthermore, scattered in the earth around the loom weights were hundreds of small gold beads that had apparently fallen from the cloth when the loom was abandoned during the fire that destroyed the house.¹⁵

All the domestic remains dating to the Third Settlement of Troy showed signs of textile activity. A significant number of textile data was also recovered in the debris deposits from Streets 308 and 309. Spindle whorls continue to dominate the textile repertoire in Troy III. Over the four phases of occupation over 160 whorls were recovered, the majority coming from Phase IIIa. Loom weights were also recovered indicating the continued use of the warp-weighted loom. Awls were found in abundance and were still predominantly constructed from bone, however, a single awl and at least four needles made from copper or bronze may perhaps signify an improvement in the site's metallurgical industry (Table 3).

A total of 42 spindle whorls and 41 bone awls were recovered from House 300 during all four phases suggesting that spinning and textile maintenance was undertaken in this house as part of the daily domestic chores. Along with spindle whorls and awls, House 300 produced seven loom weights, a spool and the handle of brush possibly used for carding wool. Loom weights indicate the use of the warp-weighted loom but no clear indication could be gained as to whether the loom was positioned in the house, or stored there and setup outside when used (Fig. 6).

The textile artefacts recovered from Troy I–III can be grouped into a tool kit that clearly defines textile activities such as spinning, weaving, matting and basketry and cloth maintenance. Areas relating to textile activity within the settlement are highlighted by the presence of these spinning and weaving tool kits: the more artefacts that can be assigned to the tool kit, the more likely that an activity was taking place in that area. The large numbers of spindle whorls found at Troy are indicative of a basic tool kit for spinning.¹⁶ Even without any further artefacts they alone demonstrate that hand spinning was a common domestic chore. The presence of whorls grouped

¹⁴ Blegen *et al.* 1950, pp. 335, 349–350.

¹⁵ Blegen *et al.* 1950, pp. 350–351.

¹⁶ Daviau 1993, pp. 36, 50.

together in such a large number in most of the architectural levels of Troy are indicative of a wide ranging and time consuming process that involved a significant portion of the community.

In every phase of Troy bone awls were represented alongside the spindle whorls suggesting that spinning was not a task undertaken on its own but rather performed together with other tasks relating to fabric maintenance. Alongside awls and whorls, needles were occasionally found attesting to sewing, which may be part of the weaving process or the general maintenance of garments.¹⁷

The presence of loom weights in all three phases of occupation indicated that an early version of the warp-weighted loom was used at prehistoric Troy. The clearest representation of this form of loom came from Room 206 of Phase IIg. The presence of postholes used to support the uprights of the loom, and the scattered remains of over 180 gold beads amongst 44 neat rows of fallen loom weights clearly represents a warp-weighted loom abandoned in the process of weaving an elaborate garment or cloth.¹⁸ This collection from Room 206 not only shows weaving was a part of Early Bronze Age society, but the elaborate beading may help identify the status of the person weaving or the symbolic function of the cloth being prepared. The economic value of the rich find contributes to our knowledge of the economic growth of the textile industry at Troy.

Alişar Hüyük

The ancient site of Alişar Hüyük is situated in a flat valley in central Anatolia in the region of Yozgat. There is no clear indication of any one settlement strata that dated to the third millennium BCE alone. The three settlements that have been investigated are the earliest levels of occupation found at the site which contained remains dating to the third millennium BCE. They include, the Chalcolithic Age (3500–2500 BCE)¹⁹, the Copper Age (2500–c.2300 BCE)²⁰ and the Early Bronze Age (c. 2300–c. 2000 BCE).²¹ In many ways the Copper Age levels are contemporary with the Early Bronze Age period to which no clear date has yet been assigned. Von der Osten merely states that the beginning of the Early Bronze Age level is “somewhat later than Troy II and its end falls within the beginning of the Hittite Empires in Asia Minor”.²²

¹⁷ Daviau 1993, pp. 36, 50.

¹⁸ Blegen *et al.* 1950, pp. 350–351.

¹⁹ Von der Osten 1937, p. 30.

²⁰ Von der Osten 1937, p. 1.

²¹ No official date has yet been assigned to the Early Bronze Age levels, see Von der Osten 1937, p. 208; pp. 429–433.

²² Von der Osten 1937, p. 208.

Despite the paucity of spatial information provided by the Alişar site reports, some important information can be gained from the surviving textile remains. Agriculture at Alişar Hüyük was well established by the Chalcolithic Age, with livestock consisting of sheep, goats, cattle and pigs.²³ Woven fabric remains recovered from burials confirm the use of sheep or goats to produce woollen materials (Fig. 7a).

Clay whorls and bone awls were the most frequently occurring textile objects. Of the 200 artefacts catalogued during the Chalcolithic Age, 140 tools were bone awls and 39 were spindle whorls. Together they represented 179 of all the textile artefacts, a massive 89.5 percent (Tables 4–5). The evidence from the Chalcolithic Levels 12 to 16 indicated that awls were used alongside spindle whorls, suggesting hand spinning and the maintenance or production of cloth was undertaken together by the same person/s. Occasionally needles were found in the same deposits, helping to support the contention that textile maintenance was undertaken within the domestic household alongside basic textile tasks.

Further intensification of the site was highlighted by the well constructed remains of the Copper Age. Very little is known about the layout of domestic quarters since most dwellings had collapsed beyond repair however, enough evidence has been identified that indicated textile production was taking place in a domestic context. Spindle whorls now outnumber bone awls although together they remain the most recurrent textile tools. Of the 274 artefacts recorded, 250 of them, or 91 percent, were whorls and awls (Table 6). Whorls were found in every catalogued plot, especially from L 14 and L 15–16. This area of the citadel mound produced the most artefacts in all three periods and was also mostly dominated by domestic architectural remains. Once again, the evidence suggests that textile production was undertaken at a household level.

A change in behavioural patterns might have taken place during the Early Bronze Age as spindle whorls were clearly the most commonly found textile artefact. A total of 107 whorls were found in comparison to just 2 bone awls. In fact, spindle whorls represented almost 75 percent of the entire textile repertoire for the Early Bronze Age (Table 7). However, this might also be due to the small area under investigation. Yet specialisation was perhaps only minimal as alongside whorls were found spindles, spools and spatulas which combined to produce a tool kit for spinning fibres and fabric maintenance.

Weaving was represented by the loom weights recovered from Chalcolithic Levels 12 and 13. The evidence of loom weights from the Copper

²³ Von der Osten 1937, p. 44.

Age is scanty and only a few have been documented, while during the Early Bronze Age only one trench produced loom weights and no other textile related equipment was listed as being found nearby. Loom weights are often discussed alone and their context is misleading. The tables produced here indicate that sometimes they were near other textile equipment, but in other instances, such as Level 13, weights were recovered separately from another room or annex (Fig. 7b). The evidence of loom weights at Alişar validates a weaving tool kit using the warp-weighted loom in a domestic context.

According to Burke, the location of whorls and other textile equipment in the same activity area is evidence that the society has not yet become a major economic centre. Once spinning and weaving tools are no longer found together then specialisation can be said to have occurred.²⁴ The separation of textile tasks implies an intensification of activity in response to supply and demand resulting in the creation of surplus cloth with which to trade or exchange.²⁵ Despite the socio-economic changes that are reflected in the architecture of the Copper Age very little differences can be identified in the material remains.

The provenance of most textile artefacts is unfortunately absent in the site reports but what could be gathered indicated continuity with the preceding period in terms of activity areas. Nevertheless, there was a notable change in spindle whorl typology and an introduction of new types of loom weights that may suggest certain advancement in craft technology relevant to the other cultural transformations (Fig. 8). What instigated these economic and social changes is unclear but it appears to have been a common occurrence across the Near East during the transition from the Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age.

Sos Höyük

Sos Höyük is a multi-period mound site, located within the modern village of Yigittaşı, near Erzurum in north-eastern Turkey. The site is located in an area that is little known archaeologically but since 1994 has been providing valuable stratigraphic data as well as shedding light on social structure, settlement patterns, land use and cultural contact, especially with the lands of Trans-Caucasus. The deep stratigraphy at Sos Höyük has been differentiated into five broad cultural periods, stretching from the Medieval (Sos Period I, c. 1100–1300 AD) to the Late Chalcolithic (Sos Period VA

²⁴ Burke 1998, p. 40.

²⁵ Burke 1998, p. 40.

c.3500/3300–3000 BCE). The third millennium BCE levels at Sos Höyük are composed of Periods VB (3000–2800 BCE), VC (2800–2500 BCE) and VD (2500–2200 BCE).²⁶

The textile implements recovered from Sos Höyük are indicative of a small community where cloth production was known but weaving and large scale spinning was not undertaken at the settlement (Table 8). The domestic architecture consisted of single-roomed buildings with a central hearth. The ceramic and tool assemblage found within these structures suggest that most domestic tasks were undertaken internally, including textile work. The artefacts have been recovered from areas surrounding hearths and benches or from within the many lined storage pits.

Although the whorls that have been uncovered are made of bone and are crude compared to their western counterparts, the presence of well made bronze or copper needles and carved bone tools imply that the inhabitants were either making or receiving their tools from skilled workers (Fig. 9). Furthermore, other artefacts such as stone and obsidian tools were also well made, many in the form of small arrowheads or blades. The burnishing and grinding stones that were also frequently found indicate a busy community involved in many seasonal activities. The beautiful, hand-crafted burnished pottery that has been found in abundance at this site also testifies to the skilled workmanship of the Kura-Araxes people who occupied the site during the Early Bronze Age.

The majority of animal remains at Sos Höyük were from domesticates, in particular sheep and goat, followed by cattle. The osteological and botanical remains reflect an economic subsistence based on animal husbandry and cereal crop cultivation.²⁷ The analysis of the age of individuals at death suggests an economic strategy based on primary products (meat) from cattle, sheep and goats. The mortality rates also indicate meat maximisation, rather than dairy or wool production.²⁸ These results further support the hypothesis that Sos Höyük was occupied year round by settlers, rather than temporary nomadic pastoralists.

Conversely, the absence of loom weights at Sos Höyük suggests that the site may have been a seasonal settlement for transhumant pastoralists. It is unlikely that weaving was unknown to the inhabitants of Sos Höyük but the artefacts clearly represent only minor spinning and textile maintenance, indicating that perhaps larger textile production was undertaken at a secondary site, most likely in a warmer region. Though weaving may have

²⁶ Sagona 2000, pp. 332–335.

²⁷ Howell-Meurs 2001.

²⁸ Howell-Meurs 2001, p. 310.

been conducted using some perishable format such as the back-strap or ground loom, there is no evidence to indicate its existence at the site. It is therefore likely that woven goods were manufactured off-site and transported to Sos Höyük from a secondary settlement or traded in exchange for commodities produced at the site, such as milk or cheese.

The finds from Sos Höyük have all been recovered from within domestic architectural remains or from refuse/storage pits. Frequently needles were found alongside bone awls, while the occasional spindle whorl found in the house indicated that some form of wool or bast fibre spinning was employed. The location of textile tools within domestic contexts suggests that even in a small rural community textiles tasks were a common and important part of daily activities. The tools recovered at Sos Höyük indicate that minor spinning plus textile repair and maintenance work were the only textile activities employed at Sos Höyük during the Early Bronze Age.

Despite the limited textile remains from Sos Höyük the importance of this industry to the economy can still be investigated. The variety of worked bone tools and crude bone disks found at Sos Höyük indicated that textile maintenance and spinning were tasks carried out by the occupants of this small rural settlement. Comparisons can be made between the subsistence industries of Troy and Alişar. All three sites have shown that they relied heavily on sheep and goats as their primary stock animals. The increase of ovicaprid remains during the Early Bronze Age is evidence for the rise in secondary products including a development in milk products such which could be stored and traded and the production of wool for textiles.

Discussion

In the Anatolian Early Bronze Age, the production of textiles was a massive time-consuming industry that involved a significant proportion of the community in myriad primary and secondary tasks; from the growing, maintaining and gathering of raw materials, the washing, splicing, carding and combing of gathered resources, the manufacture of ceramic and bone tools and implements, spinning of fibres and the weaving of cloth, and finally to the transportation, distribution and consumption of the finished product. The manufacture of textile commodities was huge business: one that would have had a noticeable impact on human behavioural patterns and a steadily growing economy.

It is through the growth of industries such as textile production that we can map the transition of certain societies from minor political entities to

major wealth producing city states. It is also perhaps through the production, or lack thereof, of textile manufacture that peripheral sites can be highlighted. It is argued that the trade of textiles helped to promote and sustain governing polities and this is reflected not only in actual cloth remains but in the trade and exchange of the tools used to produce them. Although the evidence from Anatolia is based largely on these subsidiary textile remains, the status and prestige of cloth is clearly seen in preserved textiles from later societies that show iconographic depictions or designs. Even today, the symbolic aspects of textiles are apparent in cloth which can distinguish status and power, while the symbols and designs embroidered into the fabric may represent nation, cult, creed or military rank.

Troy, Alişar Hüyük and Sos Höyük represent different types of settlement that existed during the third millennium BCE. The architectural organisation of Troy and Alişar represents developing fortified towns employing a growing staple or wealth finance system. Both settlements clearly demonstrate a certain level of political influence and incoming wealth reflected in the construction of strong fortification walls and large well-built houses. However, the artefactual remains do not indicate centralised control over the production of textiles. Spindle whorls, loom weights and awls were frequently found together in domestic loci, suggesting production in individual household units and a limited degree of specialisation.²⁹

The lack of craft workshops and administrative documentation to outline the details of exchange and trade of commodities further suggests that Troy and Alişar Hüyük had yet to reach the economic development of other third millennium BCE cities in the Aegean and Mesopotamia. Although these sites were not major economic centres, the quantity of finds relating to cloth production suggests the inhabitants may have been producing a small surplus of textiles for trade or exchange.

The smaller settlement of Sos Höyük is architecturally and materially distinct from its western counterparts but an increase in economic advancement is clearly recognisable in the Early Bronze Age remains. Change is reflected in the transition from the circular architecture of the Late Chalcolithic period to rectangular houses in the Early Bronze Age. The use of stone foundations and mud brick walls implies advancement in masonry while the use of metal needles, obsidian, lithic and bone tools and finely crafted pottery signifies development of craft industries and social networks.

It has recently been shown that the jewellery and metal products from third millennium BCE Troy reflect working trade routes and regional inter-

²⁹ Burke 1998, p. 40.

action with Mesopotamia and the Aegean.³⁰ Many finely crafted artefacts of Mesopotamian origin are among the items recovered from Troy II. The location of Troy on the west Anatolian seaboard made it a natural crossing for trade routes between the Mediterranean and Black seas and between Europe and Asia.³¹ Certain pieces from the Trojan collection are clearly Mesopotamian and indicate direct connections with Ur, while similar items uncovered at Alaca Höyük which was not located on a prominent trade route, are of much poorer quality and most likely were a reproduction by local craftspeople.³²

As regional polities developed, the trade and exchange of prestige items helped to finance political and economic control.³³ Since textiles were a necessity for the general population, whether as clothing or shelter, political control over cloth production was essential. The careful management of resources was crucial to manipulating wealth and textiles increased in value as easily tradable commodities that could be transported in bulk as raw material or finished goods. As craft specialisation developed, finer textiles could be produced and adornments added to create prestige items reflecting status and power. Economies profited from the distribution of prestige items such as textiles.³⁴ Trade networks increased as local fabrics were exchanged in return for specialised metal, lithics or pottery.³⁵ However, in the absence of written documentation there is little to elucidate the procedure of textile exchange across established trade networks in Anatolia.

Activity Areas

The evidence for social growth within a settlement is visible in the archaeological record through administrative buildings such as palaces and storerooms which can be distinguished by their grandeur or size. Settlement intensification is also recognisable through areas that are designated specifically to the manufacture of crafts such as metallurgy, ceramics or textiles. Activity areas are important indicators of where in the settlement a task, craft or industry was carried out. The purpose of these fixed spaces is often only discernable through the artefactual remains left behind and their relation to surrounding features. The textile activity areas documented at each site indicate household production rather than commercial enterprise.

³⁰ Treister 1996, pp. 229–234.

³¹ Treister 1996, pp. 233–234.

³² Treister 1996, pp. 229–230.

³³ Burke 1998, pp. 41–44.

³⁴ Burke 1998, p. 44; Brumfiel 1991, pp. 224–251.

³⁵ Much of the ceramic repertoire at both Troy and Alişar Hüyük is made up of imported pottery from the Aegean. Blegen *et al.* 1950–1951 Von der Osten 1937; Schmidt 1933.

However, even at a domestic level the manufacture of cloth held an integral place within each local economy.

At Troy there was no direct evidence to suggest there was centralised control over the textile industry. Unlike Burke's study of Crete, the collected data did not come from textile workshops but rather from individual household units. The larger, more 'palatial' megarons of the first and second settlement did not provide any significant textile finds. The most productive trench was Square E6, in particular Rooms 200 and 206 of Troy IIg, an area which is specifically domestic in nature with the nearby finds including household pottery, a hearth and grinding stones. The fallen loom weights collected from this stratum indicated that the warp-weighted loom was used to produce cloth while the presence of multiple gold beads immediately suggests a level of skill and wealth. The richness of the find from Room 206 reflects the prestige of textiles and may even be representative of the owner or buyer's status.

The tool kits collected for Troy I–III all came from domestic areas, often from within the house or from refuse areas or streets connecting domestic sections of the city. The data indicate that items relating to spinning and weaving were frequently found together demonstrating that these activities were not separate tasks but rather conducted together, in the same place, most likely by the same person/s. The occasional finds recovered from outside or between houses in areas delegated as courtyards or annexes, may suggest that from time to time textile work was conducted outside, whether using a different type of loom or transporting the portable warp-weighted loom outside during the warmer months to take advantage of natural light.³⁶ The location of textile implements within the main living areas of the house and beside other domestic items such as the hearth, cooking pottery, grinding stones and maintenance tools such as awls and needles, highlighting women as the primary textile workers at Troy and implying that the labour of women was a significant part of the economy.³⁷

Similarly, at Alişar Hüyük the carefully constructed domestic buildings and large fortified walls that developed during the Copper Age highlight the growing complexity of the society. Constructing a temporal or spatial analysis of find spots was difficult at Alişar as most items were unprovenanced in the site reports. However, it appeared that the majority of implements also came from domestic contexts. Occasionally loom weights were recovered close to the fortification wall however, there is no evidence to indicate whether this area was public storage space or simply domestic

³⁶ Elster 2003, p. 250.

³⁷ Adovasio and Illingworth 2003, p. 257.

architecture built up against the wall. The most productive areas from the Chalcolithic, Copper and Early Bronze Ages at Alişar were undoubtedly Trench L 14-16 which produced textile items in all periods of occupation. This trench also appears to have produced the majority of domestic architecture, further heightening the conclusion that textile manufacture took place in locations of a domestic nature.³⁸

Despite the paucity of textile remains at Sos Höyük it is clear that maintenance of fabrics and the collecting and spinning of raw materials were tasks undertaken at the settlement. The majority of implements recovered were found within the single-roomed houses or immediately outside the building in the household courtyard.

The lack of separate activity areas for textile manufacture does not mean that cloth production was unimportant at any of the three settlements. The progression into individual textile workshops came slowly with the development and expansion of the economy. In Anatolia the intensity of large scale textile production can be seen at Gordion during the Phrygian occupation in the Iron Age.³⁹ The use of private or public space to conduct activities may also highlight those who were responsible for carrying out a particular task. The location of much of the textile accoutrement inside, or immediately outside of, domestic buildings suggests that the manufacture of cloth was prepared and produced by women.

Division of Labour: Women, Men and Textiles

Historically, textile production has always been considered 'women's work'. Judith Brown suggests that this is primarily because women undertook this task, not because they were incapable of other economic activities, but because they needed to work from home where they could continue to raise children. Brown states, "nowhere in the world is the rearing of children primarily the responsibility of men, and in only a few societies are women exempted from participation in subsistence activities. If the economic role of women is to be maximised, their responsibilities in child care must be reduced or the economic activity must be carried out concurrently with child care".⁴⁰

Brown's model includes activities which have the following criteria: "...they do not require rapt concentration and are relatively dull and repeti-

³⁸ This area of Alişar Hüyük was also the primary area under investigation and so without further excavation it may not be entirely indicative of all the activity areas at the site.

³⁹ Burke 1998, pp. 11-12, 175-258.

⁴⁰ Brown 1970, p. 1075.

tive; they are easily interruptible and easily resumed once interrupted; they do not place the child in potential danger; and they do not require the participant to range very far from home".⁴¹ Domestic spinning, weaving and fibre preparation possess all these characteristics and have been considered the world over as the ideal women's task. Interestingly, the manufacture of hand-built pottery was also primarily produced by women within a domestic context.⁴²

However, there is also ancient evidence which indicates that men were sometimes involved in textile production. In later societies, such as New Kingdom Egypt and Classical Athens, there are depictions of male weavers often using newly introduced technology such as the vertical two-beam loom or producing elaborate fabrics for the elites.⁴³ Thompson indicates that men were weaving for commercial production while women wove at home for personal use.⁴⁴ Arnold's study into ceramic production highlights a similar increase in male participation once the surplus reached industrial levels.⁴⁵ The evidence from Early Bronze Age Anatolia has indicated that textile production was predominantly domestic in nature. The underlying assumption here is that textiles were produced by women. Perhaps, as the economy developed and the society enlarged, men began to weave *in addition* to the women of the settlement, "either for the luxury of their masters (if they are slaves) or for their own profit (if they are free)".⁴⁶

Written documentation from later periods may provide secondary evidence for the organisation of textile production. Personal letters dating to the early second millennium BCE from Assyria document the trade of cloth between Assyria and Anatolia. Correspondence between Assyrian merchants based in Anatolia and their female relatives in Aššur tell us that the women were weaving cloth for their own household use but in their spare time were weaving for exchange and export to other cities. The wife of one merchant writes:

About the fact that I did not send you the textiles about which you wrote, your heart should not be angry. As the girl has become grown up, I had to make a pair of heavy textiles for (placing/wearing) on the wagon. Moreover I made (some) for the members of the household and the children. Conse-

⁴¹ Brown 1970, pp. 1075–1076.

⁴² Arnold 1985.

⁴³ Barber 1991, pp. 290; Thompson 1982, pp. 217–222.

⁴⁴ Thompson 1982, pp. 217–219.

⁴⁵ Arnold 1985.

⁴⁶ Barber 1991, p. 290, see also pp. 290–298 for more information about the social issues surrounding the people who produced ancient textiles.

quently, I did not manage to send you textiles. Whatever textiles I (lit. 'my hand') can manage I will send you with later caravans.⁴⁷

Furthermore, although men were selling and marketing the textiles, it appears that women were the owners of the textiles and were financing and producing valuable cloth with their own resources, for example, another Assyrian woman writes to her brother:

I have trusted you even like my husband and master...but today I mean even less to you than a pawned(?) slave-girl, for to a slave-girl you at least measure out regularly food rations; but I here have to live from my debt(s)...The 1 mina of gold, the proceeds (profits) (made by the sale) of my textiles, which my master sent me, you have taken away...[Your firm received from me] in all 15 textiles of good quality. All this is my production, my goods entrusted for (sale with) profit...My gold you have taken! I beg you...send it to me with the first caravan and give me courage!.⁴⁸

Veenhof's analysis of these letters suggests that women were not only the primary producers of cloth but that they were an integrated part of the second millennium BCE economy. The frequency of commercial exchange of textiles between Assyria and Anatolia implies that trade routes between Asia Minor and Mesopotamia were long established while the fine craftsmanship of Anatolian and Assyrian textiles indicated in the letters further insinuates that textiles had become valued commodities during the previous millennia.⁴⁹

Conversely, the Aegean evidence points to a different economic strategy involving women and the textiles they produced. In her study into Aegean textiles, Barber has documented specific vocabulary that sets out the successive stages of Mycenaean textile production.⁵⁰ Through this Barber asserts that it was women who were predominantly responsible for the production of cloth, however, to-date, no evidence has been found to suggest that women owned and distributed the textiles they produced, rather the cloth was the property of the city and distributed, locally and regionally, by the central governing body.⁵¹

The presence of imported pottery and metal artefacts at Troy indicate that some form of exchange was indeed a part of the economic infrastructure. However, one would expect that any society which based its primary economic stability upon the mass manufacture, distribution and consump-

⁴⁷ Veenhof 1972, p. 115 and translated in Barber 1991, p. 287.

⁴⁸ Veenhof 1972, p. 110 and translated in Barber 1991, p. 287.

⁴⁹ Veenhof 1972, p. 104.

⁵⁰ Barber 1991, p. 283.

⁵¹ Barber 1991, p. 288; see also the Cretan evidence analysed by Burke 1998, p. 13.

tion of traded goods would have kept clear and multiple written documentation; such as is found in abundance at so many later political centres⁵² and which are so notably absent at Troy, Alişar Hüyük and Sos Höyük. Furthermore, the provenance of the artefacts suggests that spinning and weaving were conducted together rather than at segregated workshops. This suggests only limited specialisation and no political control over cloth production. While the great quantities of whorls, loom weights and awls may imply some surplus textiles were produced, large-scale textile production is not apparent at these sites during the third millennium BCE.

The absence of written documentation at Troy, Alişar and Sos Höyük in the Early Bronze Age is crucial to understanding the economy at the time. Without administrative records to document currency or exchange transactions there is no way of knowing how goods were distributed and consumed, or by whom. The lack of business documentation at these early Anatolian sites suggests that the production of textiles, while extensive in nature, was primarily contained to domestic manufacture and local distribution.

Conclusion

This study examines textiles from a social perspective, taking into account the functionality of the implements and the social and political organisation of economic subsistence activities. Using an intra-site analysis of activity areas it is possible to shed some light on the organisation of cloth production within different third millennium BCE societies. Nevertheless, it is premature to stipulate exactly how the textile industry functioned in prehistoric Anatolia: there are still too many settlements awaiting excavation and much work that has yet to be published. Moreover, this research has only looked at three examples of third millennium BCE textile production. A complete interpretive study of textiles would involve many other sites and include all levels of occupation. Other social activities must also be analysed to fully comprehend the unique characteristics of every ancient site.

Regardless of the political structure or economic strategy employed across Anatolia, the manufacture, distribution and consumption of textiles was essential to survival, physically as well as economically. The varying degrees of production and consumption of textiles within diverse political and economic spheres highlights the growth of craft specialisation during the

⁵² Veenhof 1972, p. 104.

third millennium BCE. The change in textile technology and political organisation reflects the rise of complex societies. As regional centres expanded and economic strategies developed, the surplus production of commodities strengthened political control over marginal lands and trade networks. Prestige items such as textiles helped to influence and manipulate the controlling elite causing an escalation of value and an increase in product demand. The economic benefit of prestige items such as textiles is unmistakable and highlights an often ignored aspect of prehistoric economies — the labour of women.

Almost nothing remains of the textiles produced during the third millennium BCE in Anatolia. However, the evidence from three distinct Early Bronze Age sites shows that through an analysis of the surviving tools and collateral data much can be deduced about the nature and economic importance of this time-consuming craft. Each settlement showed indications of growth and prosperity throughout the Early Bronze Age characterised by technological advancement and economic growth. However, the artefactual assemblage also indicated that despite the changes in architecture and typology there was strong continuity of cultural traditions. Many of the habits and implements of the cloth makers remained consistent; a testament to the remarkable longevity of the textile tradition. Future work will hopefully take more time to catalogue all aspects of the data in order to facilitate our understanding of ancient communities. As this research has shown, even the smallest scrap of evidence can be used to unravel the complexities of the past.

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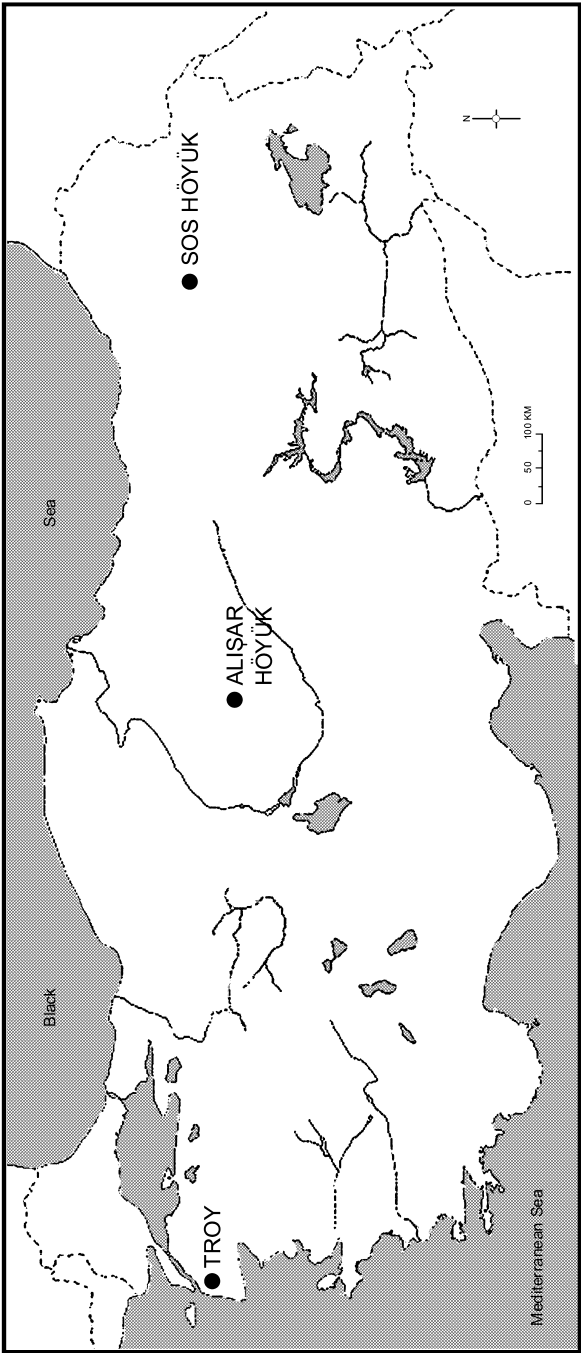


Fig 1. Anatolia showing the location of the three sites discussed in this paper.

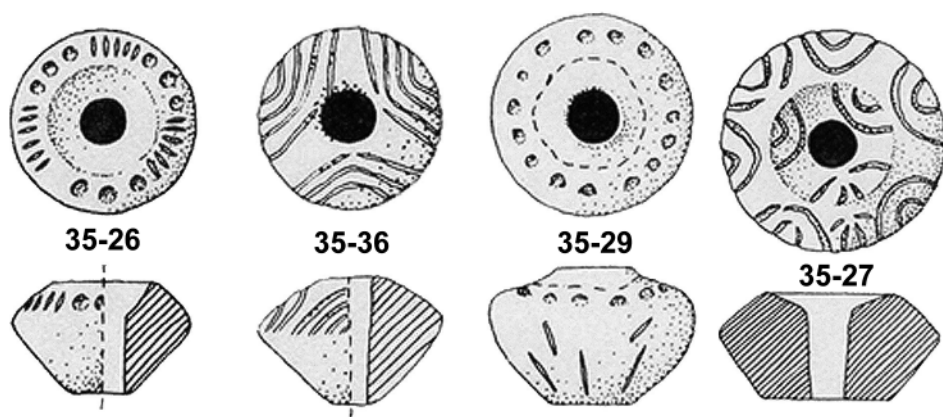


Fig. 2a Decorated Spindle Whorls found at Troy, Levels I-III
(after Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 366, whorls 35-29 and 35-36; fig. 367, 35-26 and 35-27)



Fig. 2b Loom Weights found at Troy, Levels I-III
(after Blegen *et al.* 1950, pp. 337-38, fig. 369)

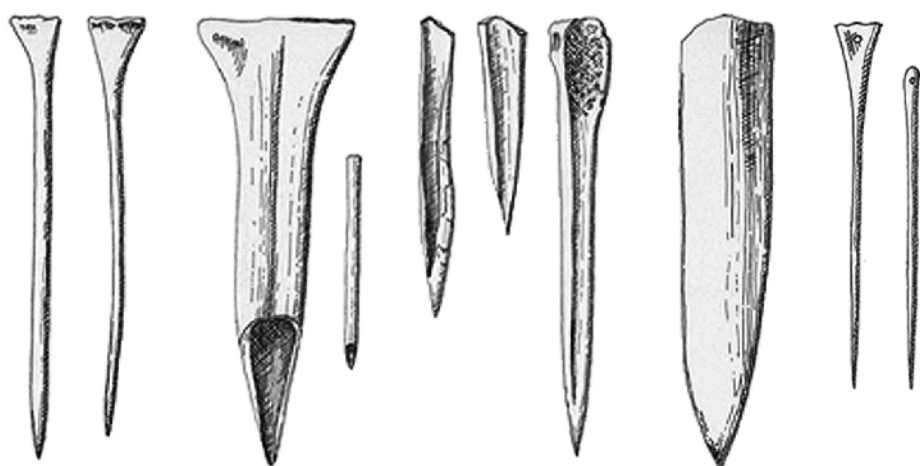


Fig. 3a Types of Bone Awls and Needles found at Troy, Levels I-III
(after Blegen *et al.* 1950, p. 28, fig. 40)



Fig. 3b Types of bone awls from Alişar Hüyük
(after Von der Osten 1937, pp. 87-88, figs 92, 94, 193)

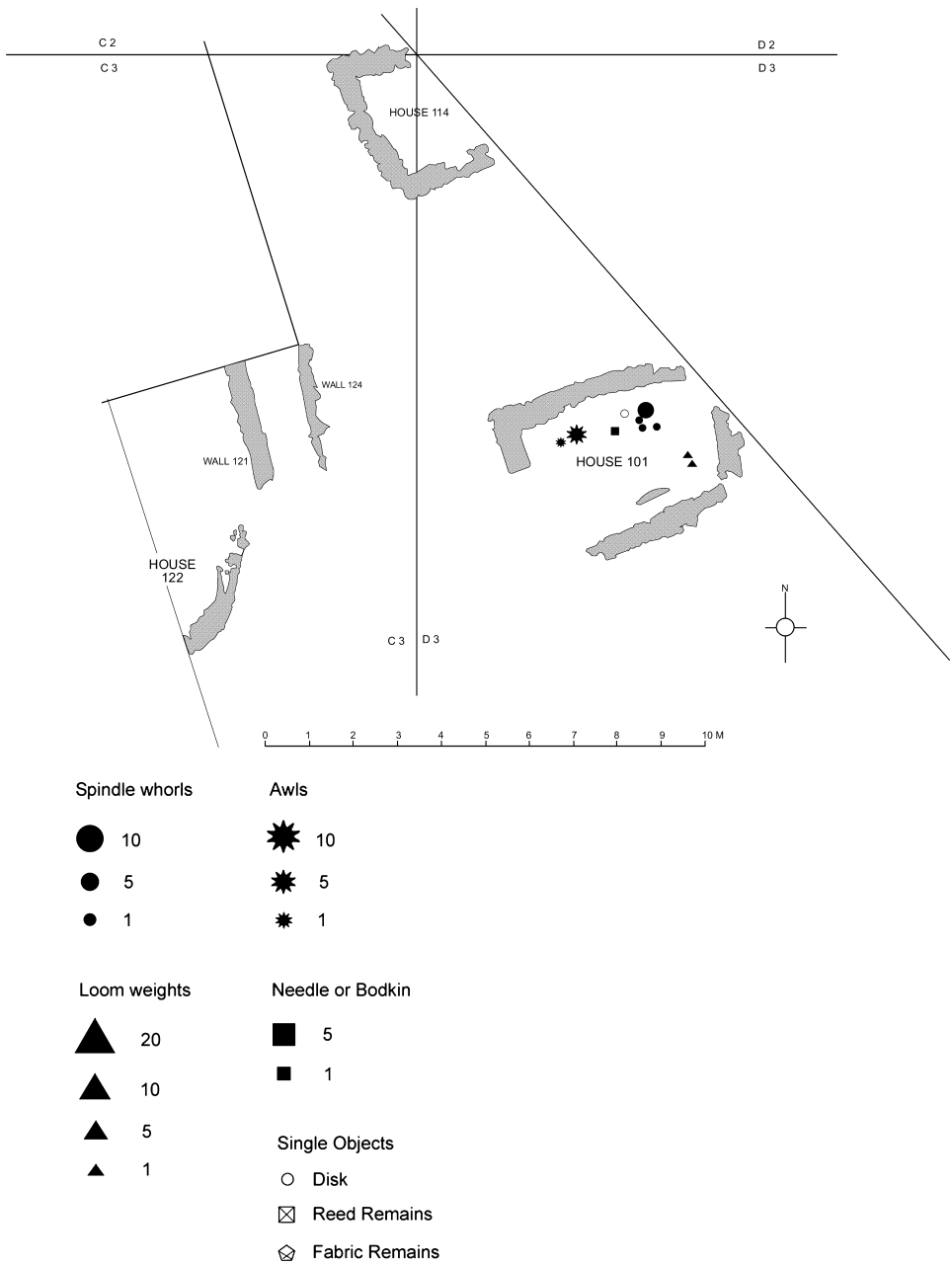


Fig. 4 Plan of Troy Ic, Square C-D₂₋₃, House 101 (plan and key)
(after Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 427)



Fig. 5 Plan of Troy II, Square E6 (plan and key) (after Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 462)



Fig. 6 Plan of Troy IIIa (plan and key) (after Blegen *et al.* 1951, fig. 264)

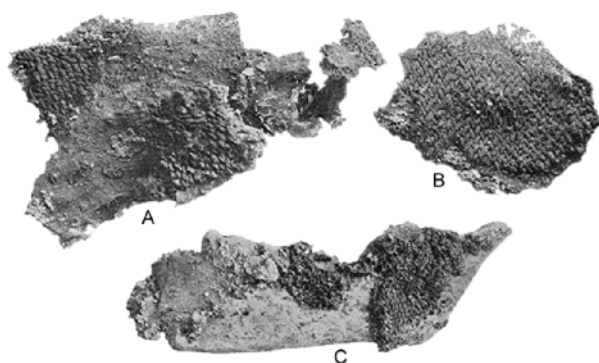


Fig. 7a Chalcolithic Age. Fragments of 2/2 twill cloth found with Burial e.x14.
 A-B = Fabric on animal skin. Scale, 2:1. C = Fabric attached to Mandible.
 (after Von Der Osten 1937, pp. 44, 50-51, Figs. 58-60)

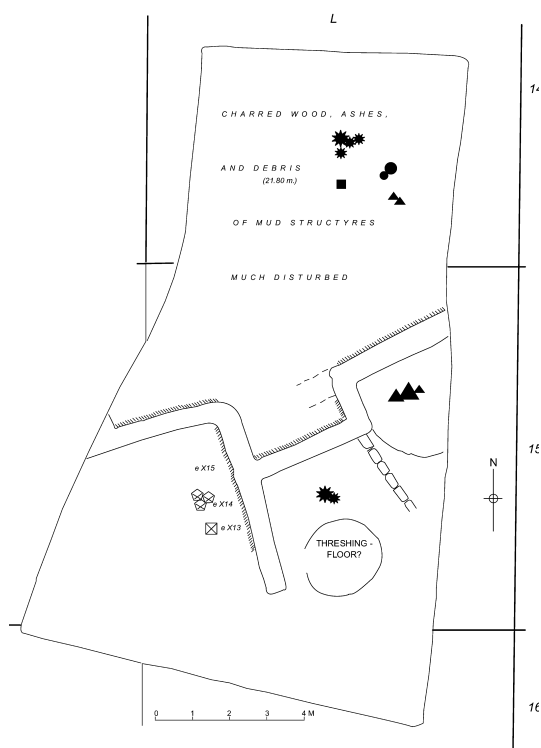


Fig. 7b Chalcolithic Age, Plan of Level 13 in L 14-16 (after Von der Osten 1937, fig. 44).
 For key, see previous plans.

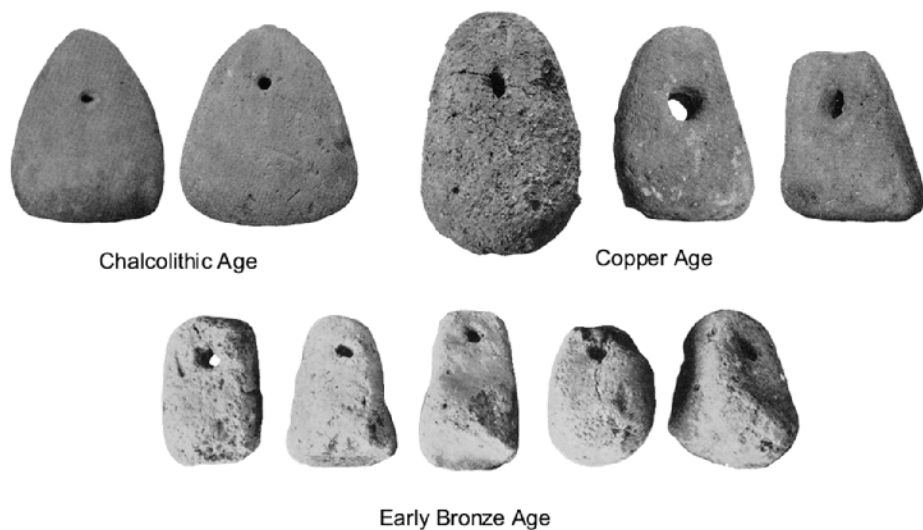


Fig. 8 Different types of loom weights from Alişar Hüyük
(after Von der Osten 1937, p. 206, 267, figs 99, 205, 279)



Fig. 9 Types of stone and bone spindle whorls and joint and splinter awls found at Sos Höyük (photographs courtesy of A. Sagona, The University of Melbourne)

The First Settlement

TROY I									
	Phase								Total
	Ia	Ib	Ic	Id	Ie	If	Ij	Ik	
Textile Production									
Spindle Whorl	3	4	14	8	1	2		66	98
Loom Weight			2						2
Other Implement		1	1						2
Comb/Brush									
Textile									
Awl	9	9	23	6	2	3	2	13	67
Needle	1		2					2	5

Table 1
Textile data recovered from Troy I

TROY II								
	Phase							Total
	IIa	IIb	IIc	IIId	IIe	IIIf	IIg	
Textile Production								
Spindle Whorl	3	2	10	36		14	121	186
Loom Weight							75	75*
Other Implement							1	1
Comb/Brush				5				5
Textile Maintenance								
Awl	1		1	7		4	20	33
Needle						1		1

Table 2
Textile data recovered from Troy II
* At least 75 loom weights were recovered,
but only 32 have been entered into the inventory¹

¹ Blegen *et al.* (1950), p. 322.

TROY III					
	Phase				Total
	<i>Early</i> IIIa	<i>Middle</i> IIIb	<i>Late</i> IIIc IIId		
Textile Production					
Spindle Whorl	63	57	21	26	167
Loom Weight	3	1	1	8	13
Other Implement				1	1
Comb/Brush				1	1
Textile Maintenance					
Awl	29	32	4	5	70
Needle				1	1
Bodkin		1			1
Total by Phase	95	91	26	42	

Table 3
Textile data recovered from Troy III

Chalcolithic Age — Trench L 14-15										
	Phase/Level									Total
	1120	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Textile Production										
Spindle Whorl		21			2					23
Loom Weight		2*	2*							2*
Other Implement										0
Comb/Brush										0
Fabric Remains										
Textile										
Awl		11	8	12	41	7				79
Needle			1	1		1				3

* Grouped as a “nest” of weights indicating more than one but exact figure not given.

Table 4
Textile data recovered from Alişar Chalcolithic Age, Trench L 14-15

Chalcolithic Age — Trench L 14-16										
	Phase/Level									Total
	1120	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Textile Production										
Spindle Whorl		9	6	1						16
Loom Weight			16							16
Other Implement										0
Comb/Brush										0
Fabric Remains			4							
Textile										
Awl	5	31	8	6	2	0	7	1	1	61
Needle				2						2

Table 5
Textile data recovered from Chalcolithic Age, Trench L 14-16

Copper Age																
	Trench															Total
	B 24	HH 13	J 27	J 29	J 30	L 14	L 14- 15	L 15- 16	M 29	P 31	T 28	T 30	U 29	U	Unknown	
Textile Production																
Spindle Whorl	1	1	2	2	1	1	44	19	1	1	1	4	1	3	137	219
Loom Weight							2								3	5
Comb/Brush																0
197																
197																
Spindle							1									1
Spatula															4	4
Other Implement							2									2
Textile																
Awl							17								14	31
Needle															2	2
Point							10									10

Table 6
Textile data recovered from Alişar Copper Age

Early Bronze Age							
	Trench						Total
	AA 16	L 14	L-M 11-12	P 13	Refuse	Unknown	
Textile Production							
Spindle Whorl	1	15		1	2	88	107
Loom Weight		1	18				19
Comb/Brush							0
Spindle						5	5
Spool						2	2
Spatula						4	4
Other Implement						1	1
Textile							
Awl						2	2
Needle		1				1	2
Point						1	1

Table 7
Summary of Textile data recovered from Alişar Early Bronze Age

Sos Höyük				
	Period			Total
	VB	VC	VD	
Textile Production				
Spindle Whorl	2	4	2	8
Loom Weight				0
Other Implement		2	1	3
Comb/Brush				0
Fabric Remains	1*			1
Textile Maintenance				
Awl	5	12	3	20
Needle		2	5	7

* Mat Impression

Table 8
Textile data recovered from Sos Höyük

The Prehistory of the Istanbul Region: A Survey

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Abstract

Within the greater of Istanbul, well outside the historic precinct, chance finds and systematic excavations are revealing the extent of this region's prehistory. The periods represented extend from the Palaeolithic, through Mesolithic Neolithic and Chalcolithic, and then to the Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age (thirteenth to twelfth centuries BC) transition. Within central Istanbul proper building activities over the last century and in various locations, as well as general maintenance work by local councils, have brought to light a range of artefacts that provide clues to the occupation of this historically prominent region.

The number of prehistoric sites coming to light within the boundaries of greater Istanbul but quite a distance from the historic precinct is increasing. Systematic archaeological excavations at Yarımburgaz Cave, situated on the northern shore of Lake Küçükçekmece, have brought to light Lower Palaeolithic stone tools from levels 16–12¹ dating to approximately 400.000 years before present. They have shown this to be one of the oldest sites not only in the Istanbul region, but in the whole of the Near East.² Lower Palaeolithic tools have also been found, as a result of surveys. They have been collected at İçerenköy,³ Pendik,⁴ Dudullu and Ümraniye⁵ on the

¹ Özdoğan 1988, pp. 330–332; Arsebük and Özbaşaran 1994, p. 25; Arsebük 1996, p. 2; Stiner, Arsebük and Howell 1996, pp. 279–327.

² Arsebük 1996, 1–13; Arsebük 1998, pp. 4–7.

³ Bittel 1934, p. 25; Esin 1992, p. 61.

⁴ Atasayan 1941, pp. 522–527; Kansu 1947, p. 220; Esin 1992, pp. 61–62.

⁵ Jelinek 1980, pp. 309–315; Esin 1992, p. 62.

Anatolian (Asian) side of Istanbul, and in the Terkos-Kilyos region,⁶ the Büyük Çekmece-Eskice Ridge,⁷ and the upper terraces of Davutpaşa Brook⁸ on the European side are. Along with those from the Yarımburgaz Cave, these surface finds represent the earliest evidence of human settlement in the vicinity of Istanbul (**Map 1**).

The Middle Palaeolithic Period (130,000–90,000 BC) is also represented in this region. Stone tools were found at Yarımburgaz Cave (levels 11–8),⁹ suggest that the cave continued to be used as a shelter.¹⁰ Other Middle Palaeolithic Period objects have been found through survey work at Kilyos-Ağaçlı¹¹ and Kefken,¹² the Büyük Çekmece-Eskice Ridge and in the location of Çatalca-Karababa¹³ on the European side (**Map 1**).

Settlement was uninterupted during the remaining millennia of the Palaeolithic. Artefacts of the Upper Palaeolithic Period (90,000–15,000 BC) and the Epipalaeolithic Period (15,000–10,000 BC) were attested in the rich deposits at Yarımburgaz Cave (levels 7 and 6),¹⁴ and also at Ağaçlı,¹⁵ Gümüşdere,¹⁶ Yassıören,¹⁷ Haramidere,¹⁸ and Ambarlı¹⁹ on the European side, and at Domalı²⁰ and Ağva²¹ on the Asian side (**Map 1**).

By contradistinction to the Palaeolithic sequence, the periods following immediately after remain problematic. It is still not clear, for instance, whether the stone tools found at Ağaçlı²² and Gümüşdere²³ on the European side, and Dudullu²⁴ and Domalı²⁵ on the Asian side (**Map 1**) date to the Proto-Neolithic/Mesolithic period (10,000–8000 BC) or to the Aceramic Neolithic Period (8000–7000 BC).

⁶ Özdoğan 1985, pp. 221–222.

⁷ Özdoğan 1983, p. 137; Özdoğan 1984, p. 67; Özdoğan 1985, p. 223; Özdoğan 2000b, p. 309.

⁸ Kansu 1963b, p. 660; Esin 1992, p. 63.

⁹ Özdoğan 1988, pp. 330–331.

¹⁰ Esin 1992, pp. 65–67.

¹¹ Özdoğan 1985, p. 222; Esin 1992, pp. 63–64; Özdoğan 2000b, p. 309.

¹² Özdoğan 1983, p. 137; Özdoğan 1986, p. 144; Özdoğan 2000b, p. 309.

¹³ Özdoğan 1982, p. 45; Özdoğan 1983, p. 137.

¹⁴ Özdoğan 1988, pp. 330–331.

¹⁵ Özdoğan 1983, p. 137; Özdoğan 1984, p. 67; Esin 1992, p. 63.

¹⁶ Özdoğan 1983, p. 137; Esin 1992, p. 64; Özdoğan 2000b, p. 309.

¹⁷ Özdoğan 1985, p. 222.

¹⁸ Özdoğan 1983, p. 137; Özdoğan 1985, p. 223.

¹⁹ Esin 1992, p. 67.

²⁰ Özdoğan 1983, pp. 137, 141; Esin 1992, p. 64.

²¹ Esin 1992, p. 67.

²² Esin 1992, p. 63.

²³ Esin 1992, p. 64.

²⁴ Esin 1992, p. 62.

²⁵ Esin 1992, p. 64.

Moreover, the finds attributed to the Early Neolithic Period (7000–6000 BC) in the Istanbul region are controversial. The roughly formed hand-made grit and sand-tempered pottery fragments decorated with fingernail impressions found on the highest section of a sand-dune at Kilyos-Ağaçlı (Map 1), along with some burnt pieces of architectural remains found at the same place, has led to the conclusion that Ağaçlı could have been a small scale, single phase settlement consisting of 2–3 huts, dating to the beginning of the Neolithic Period.²⁶ However, this view is weakened by the fact that it is based only on surface finds and, as yet, no similar finds have been uncovered in the Istanbul region. Some important settlements dating to the periods following the Early Neolithic Period, namely the Late Neolithic Period/Early Chalcolithic Period (6000–4500 BC), have been discovered. Archaeological excavations carried out at Fikirtepe²⁷ and Pendik-Temenye²⁸ and an exploratory dig at Tuzla²⁹ (Map 1) determined that these sites were basic village settlements. Comparative material from other archaeological excavations in the region has shown that these settlements were among the first in the region to manufacture pottery, and that their economy was based on hunting and fishing rather than farming.

The Late Chalcolithic period (4500–3500 BC) witnessed a relative increase in the number of settlements, which extended into Anatolia on the Asian side of Istanbul. Level o at Yarımburgaz Cave must belong to the Late Chalcolithic Period.³⁰ Further west, black burnished pottery sherds resembling north-west Anatolian Late Chalcolithic ware,³¹ and other fragments decorated with incisions³² were found at Silivri-Kanallıköprü.

On the basis of current information, it appears that the earliest archaeological finds found within the historic peninsula of Istanbul date to the

²⁶ Özdoğan 1985, pp. 222–223; Özdoğan 1986, p. 144.

²⁷ The settlement of Fikirtepe is located on a natural hill in the vicinity of Kadıköy, on the eastern shore of the Sea of Marmara. During the excavations carried out by K. Bittel and H. Çambel in the years 1952–1954, several trenches were opened up and in a thin cultural layer approximately 0.50 m in thickness some architectural remains of dwellings were uncovered along with a few burials, which were inside or next to them (Özdoğan 1992, pp. 40–44).

²⁸ Harmankaya 1983, pp. 25–30; Pasinli *et al.* 1994, pp. 147–163.

²⁹ Fıratlı 1958b, pp. 30–31.

³⁰ Level “o” at Yarımburgaz Cave is the level that separates the Byzantine Period from the earlier levels and is the most recent prehistoric level. A pottery group found here provides a *terminus ante quem* date for the earlier levels. The vessels decorated with and incised and filled in dot design are dated by the excavators to the Middle Chalcolithic show that level “o” (Parzinger and Özdoğan 1995, abb.1) is contemporary with the cultural development of Büyük Güllücek Late Chalcolithic and İkiztepe Late Chalcolithic Period–Early Bronze Age I (Early).

³¹ Kansu 1963b, res. 39, bottom row.

³² Kansu 1963a, res. 2–3, Kansu 1963b, res. 35; Kansu 1964, res. 13.

Late Chalcolithic Period (4500–3500 BC). In 1987, during research in the storage rooms of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Dr. A.V. Çobanoğlu and Dr. F. Özgümiş found Late Chalcolithic material among the archaeological objects uncovered by St. Casson during excavations that took place in the late 1920s at the Hippodrome (in Sultanahmet)³³ (Map 4). Among these were large jars, which were handmade and of dark camel-coloured paste, slipped in the same colour as the paste, tempered with medium or large vegetal or medium-sized mineral particles and mottled black on the surface due to the firing. One jar bears a human face portrayed in relief, which closely resembles the ones from Level III at Bafra-İkiztepe, also dated to the Late Chalcolithic Period.³⁴ The examples from İkiztepe resemble closely the Hippodrome piece both in technical terms (its paste and manufacture) and with respect to the decorative use of the human face. Another find that increases the likelihood that Late Chalcolithic settlements existed in the vicinity of the Hippodrome is a fragment of a green stone macehead (Fig. 2b) found during the excavations carried out by the German Archaeological Institute in 1942 in the area between the Hippodrome and the Martyrium of St. Evphemia (Map 4). Found in a mixed level,³⁵ this find has parallels in a large number of Anatolian settlements dating to both the Late Chalcolithic Period and the Early Bronze Age.

The most important find from the historic precinct dating to the period following the Late Chalcolithic is a jug fragment³⁶ (Fig. 1a) found during the digging of a foundation at Çarşıkapı near the Tomb of Kara Mustafa Paşa of Merzifon (Map 4). This vessel has four vertical handles linking neck to shoulder and is manufactured by hand. It has a dark brown paste, and tempered with fine and medium mineral and medium-sized vegetal particles. Poorly fired, its exterior is slipped in the same colour as the paste, and decorated with a design executed in an aubergine-coloured paint. The tall neck and ornamentation do bear similarities with examples from the Middle Cypriot Period I (1900–1800 BC),³⁷ the Middle Cypriot Period II (1800–1725 BC),³⁸ the Middle Cypriot Period III (1725–1600 BC)³⁹ and even the Late Cypriot Period I-II (1600–1200 BC).⁴⁰ However, as this particular jug is of poor quality and has four handles — an attribute not frequently seen on Cypriot pottery — it is very likely that this item was made locally.

³³ Casson 1930, pp. 213–242.

³⁴ Alkim 1986, pp. 99–116.

³⁵ Erzen 1954, pp. 134–135, res. 3.

³⁶ Fıratlı 1958a, pp. 29–30; Fıratlı 1978, p. 572, fig. 3: 5.

³⁷ Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, jar no. 33/35 in the catalogue.

³⁸ Maguire 1991, fig. 7: 1–5.

³⁹ Karageorghis 1999, jars no. 106–107: 75 and 76 in the catalogue.

⁴⁰ Malmgren 1999, fig. 7/C 257; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, jar no. 37/47 in the catalogue.

Another fragment of interest is a rim sherd found during the building of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (**Map 4**) in 1968. The piece is hand-made, and has a dark grey paste that is tempered with fine and medium-sized mineral and medium-sized vegetal inclusions and slipped in the same colour as the paste. Evenly fired and smoothed by hand, it is decorated with a relief rope design⁴¹ (**Fig. 1b**), that is relatively common in the southeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula in the transition period from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (1300–1100 BC). It is clear from excavations and surveys in Turkish Thrace that there are a large number of settlements and burials belonging to this period. These materials include pottery uncovered in the kurgan at Taşlıcabayır,⁴² in the province of Kırklareli, pottery sherds gathered from the megalithic tombs near the village of Vaysal (that was damaged during illegal excavations)⁴³ and at Lalapaşa in the province of Edirne.⁴⁴ We also have fragments found during survey work at Ağačköprü and Yedigöz in the province of Kırklareli.⁴⁵

These pottery pieces are derivatives of those found at Hisarlık Tepesi (Troy) VIIb2,⁴⁶ Liman Tepe,⁴⁷ Hydas,⁴⁸ Yassı Höyük (Gordion) Building Level 7,⁴⁹ Boğazköy-Büyükaya,⁵⁰ Kaman-Kalehöyük level IId⁵¹ and Tel-el Cüdeyde⁵², representing the period known as the Dark Age in Anatolia, and are associated by some with the Thracian-Phrygian migrations. In addition to these, the Early Iron Age pottery sherds decorated with pellets, found in the vicinity of the Monastery (Manastır)⁵³ on Avşa Island in the Sea of Marmara, show that the Thracian-Phrygian migrations penetrated into the southern regions of the Marmara, and from here crossed the sea to reach some of the islands. As well as providing evidence for the existence of an Early Iron Age settlement in the historic precinct, these pottery pieces are very significant in that they suggest that the Thracian-Phrygian migrations, thought to have crossed the Çanakkale Straits,⁵⁴ may have also crossed the Istanbul Bosphorus Straits. This theory was first put forward in 1971 by

⁴¹ Fıratlı 1978, p. 570, pl. 163: 4.

⁴² Özdoğan 1984, p. 68; Özdoğan 1987, pp. 7–39; Özdoğan 2000a, pp. 158–159.

⁴³ Özdoğan 1983, res. 4.

⁴⁴ Akman 1997, abb. 10, taf. 15.

⁴⁵ Özdoğan 1985, p. 225.

⁴⁶ Dörpfeld 1902, p. 297; Schuchhardt 1941, p. 257; Blegen, Caskey and Rawson 1958, p. 141–158; Müller 1971, p. 72.

⁴⁷ Erkanal 1999, p. 327, res. 3–4.

⁴⁸ Benter 2002, pp. 177, 180–181, abb. 10.

⁴⁹ Sams 1994, figs 1–5.

⁵⁰ Genz 2000, abb. 3–5; Genz 2001, pp. 1–2; Genz 2003, pp. 179–191.

⁵¹ Omura 1992a, pl. 8: 1–4; Omura 1992b, p. 323, res. 8:1.

⁵² Buchholz 1973, p. 184.

⁵³ Özdoğan 1985, p. 226.

⁵⁴ Özdoğan 1985, p. 226.

N. K. Sandars⁵⁵, but it did not arouse much interest as it was not adequately supported by archaeological data. However, the data presented above lend support to Sandars' theory. Close parallels to the jar sherd decorated with the relief rope impression were found during surveys of settlements between the Pravadi Brook and Havsa in the Edirne region,⁵⁶ as well as during the excavations of the Iron Age settlement on Berezan Island in the northwestern part of the Black Sea.⁵⁷

Along with these pottery pieces, a simple hand axe in the form of a chisel made from green stone and with a shiny surface was found in the same area (Fig. 2a). A new theory put forward by Ö. Bilgi suggests that these axes, seen at many settlements in Anatolia from the Neolithic Period onwards, were traded in Anatolia. According to Bilgi, the axes were manufactured at production centres and workshops in areas where green stone was easily found as a raw material, and then distributed through trade.⁵⁸ The macehead found between the Hippodrome (Sultanahmet) and the Martyrium of St. Euphemia (Fig. 2b) may have been part of this trading system.

In addition to these finds, architectural remains and fragments of grey, undecorated pottery were reported in one of the sondages opened up in the years 1946–1950 in the vicinity of St Irene and St. Sophia by, M. Ramazanoğlu, one of the ex-directors of Ayasofya Museum. These archaeological finds have not yet been published, but according to A. Erzen, information concerning them was communicated to him verbally by the excavator himself, and apparently the architectural remains closely resemble the Phrygian Period walls at Boğazköy from the point of view of the technique used.⁵⁹ However, although virgin soil was reached during the excavations carried out in 1937 in the second courtyard of Topkapı Palace by A. Ogan and A. M. Mansel, no architectural remains or pottery parallels were found there.⁶⁰

Linguistic documentation also supports a Thracian settlement in ancient Istanbul. According to A. Erzen, Byzantion is the eponymous name of Byzas, a Thracian.⁶¹

Apart from those in the historic precinct, no prehistoric or protohistoric settlements have yet been found in the vicinity of the Haliç (Golden

⁵⁵ Sandars 1971, pp. 17–18.

⁵⁶ Özdoğan 1984, p. 66.

⁵⁷ Soloyov 2001, fig. 4:4–15.

⁵⁸ Bilgi 1997, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Erzen 1954, p. 135.

⁶⁰ Ogan 1940, pp. 317–335.

⁶¹ Erzen 1954, p. 136.

Horn).⁶² There are two main reasons for this. First, is the original length of the Haliç, which was twice what it is today. Parts of it have been filled in over a period of thousands of years with clay, mud and earth, resulting from erosion and carried in by means of the of the Alibey (Kydaris) and Kağıthane (Barbyses) streams that have wide riverbeds (**Map 2**). In other words, over thousands of years this debris filled first the mouth sections of the Alibey and Kağıthane streams, then the shallower and narrower north-western part of the Haliç, and later the middle and lower parts. In addition flood waters from the areas of Dolapdere, Okmeydanı and Eyüp, and those flowing directly into the Haliç, and down from the northern and southern slopes caused the riverbank areas to fill up and become shallower.⁶³ As a result of these natural phenomena, the settlements that probably existed — especially those near the edge of the water — would have been buried under a thick layer of debris accumulation (**Map 3**).

The most important evidence pointing us to this conclusion comes from the Anatolian (Asian side) of Istanbul. A few pottery vessels were found on 15.05.1989 at the Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour (**Fig. 5**), where the Kurbağalı Stream reaches Kalamış Bay, during work being done by the Kadıköy Local Council to clean the riverbed. The group consisted of two dipper juglets (**Figs 3a–b**) and two jugs (**Figs 4a–b**). Following their discovery, Dr. Şeniz Atik from Istanbul Archaeological Museums,⁶⁴ co-ordinated a rescue operation together with two underwater archaeologists, Dilek Tanöz and Jekfer Gökpınar. Unfortunately, owing to extremely poor visibility — it was the time for cutting the seaweed — the underwater exploration failed to make further discoveries. However the underwater archaeologists were able to ascertain, through groping with their hands, the existence of some architectural remains that were probably walls but no evidence could be obtained to indicate the period to which these belonged. Since then no further archaeological research has been done at the Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour.

⁶² At the same time the organic link between the Haliç (Golden Horn) and the Historic Peninsula, that forms its southeastern shores, is a geographical fact. The widest point of the Haliç is an average of 900 m between Sarayburnu-Tophane, while the narrowest point is around 150m, where the Kağıthane and Alibey streams flow into it (see **Map 4**), its deepest point is 60 m between Karaköy-Eminönü and the longest part is 7.5km in the form of a typical river bank. It is a known fact that throughout history the Haliç has been used as an inner harbour and a food source as the area around the Haliç consisting of several hills suitable for settlement, would have attracted settlers. The most important hills of the Haliç basin are those of St.Sophia-Topkapı Palace (40 m), Beyazıt-Süleymaniye (50–60 m), Edirnekapi-Fatih (60–70 m), Taksim (70–80 m), Okmeydanı (90–100 m) and Şişli — Mecidiyeköy (100–120 m) (Sayar 1977, p. 357).

⁶³ Yalçınlar 1977, p. 290.

⁶⁴ I extend my thanks to Dr. Şeniz Atik for permission to publish these finds.

The dipper juglets are handmade and beak-spouted. The first of these (Fig. 3a) is of dark grey paste and unburnished. The upper part of the beak spout is missing; it has a vertical handle that links the rim to the body; it is spherical in shape and has a rounded base. The second dipper is also dark grey and unburnished (Fig. 3b). The body of this vessel widens as it extends downwards; its vertical handle that is now missing originally extended from the rim down to the plain base. Of the jugs, one is complete whereas the other has quite a large section missing. The complete jug, which like the vessels is shaped by hand (Fig. 4a) is slipped in dark buff and left unburnished. It has a slightly raised beak spout with a cylindrical neck, and a vertical handle from the rim to shoulder. This spherical jar with a rounded base has two circular relief designs, side by side on the shoulder, symmetrical to the handle. The second jug (Fig. 4b) would have been similar in form to the first. No decoration is seen on the surviving part of this jug, which is made of dark grey paste and unburnished.

There is some similarity in the general appearance between the Kalamış Bay vessels and the pottery of the burials of the Yortan culture.⁶⁵ However, the Kalamış Bay jugs and jug-shaped vessels do not reflect the same technical structure and typology as those of the Yortan culture and Thracian settlements. This indicates that the Kalamış Bay vessels, which can be dated to Early Bronze Age II–III, were probably of local manufacture.

Both the handful of ceramics and the likelihood of stone foundations of walls now underwater, it is not unreasonable to assume that an ancient settlement existed at Kalamış Bay. The fact that Kalamış is a suitable bay for a settlement, and is fed by a freshwater source like Kurbağalidere, would have been the most likely reasons for choosing it as a site for establishing a settlement. The question of why such a settlement (if it exists) is now underwater can be explained by the fluctuation in water levels of the Marmara shores throughout history.⁶⁶

In addition to dynamic environmental change, the high density of building and settlement in the region over the past few millennia has also contributed to the invisibility of prehistoric settlements in Istanbul and the Haliç Basin. Later constructions have either sealed the vestiges of earlier settlements, or obliterated them. Photographs (Figs 6–7) taken of Istanbul and especially the Haliç and its basin from the air, in a hotair balloon raised up over the Bakırköy-İncirli side, by two German lieutenants during the First World War are instructive.⁶⁷ On close examination of these photo-

⁶⁵ For the Yortan burials at Yortan, Babaköy and Ovabayındır see Kamil 1982; Bittel 1939, pp. 1–31; Özgüç 1944, pp. 53–70; Akurgal 1958, pp. 156–170; Orthmann 1966, pp. 1–26.

⁶⁶ Erol 1991, pp. 11–16.

⁶⁷ Saner 2001.

graphs, large empty spaces and fields can be seen in the region around the Haliç and its basin, especially behind the settlement area at the water's edge. We can conclude that, if systematic archaeological research could have been started at least during the period when the photographs were taken (1914–1918) or in the first years of The Republic of Turkey, the information we have about the archaeology of Istanbul, including the Haliç and its basin, would probably have been a lot more extensive.

In conclusion, these data show us that on the Anatolian side of Istanbul there were settlements established at Fikirtepe and Kalamış, in the riverbed of the Kurbağalı, and at Tuzla in the valley of the Kemikli Stream. These settlements are now either under water or beneath a thick layer of alluvium. Furthermore, all things considered, it is likely that the city of Istanbul, the Haliç Basin and the historic peninsula were settled in prehistory, but it is clear that evidence of this occupation has been damaged by the dense and rapid building construction.

Catalogue

Fig. 1a: Jug. Di. 7.1cm, H. 11.4cm, W. 5.8cm, Th. 0.9cm. Dark buff paste. Fine mineral and medium vegetal tempered. Slipped in the same colour as the paste. Poorly fired. Unburnished. Decorated on both the outside and inside; the rim in aubergine. Handmade. The Tomb of Kara Mustafa Paşa of Merzifon, Çarşıkapı, Historic Peninsula, İstanbul. Date: Middle Cypriot Period I–III or Late Cypriot Period I–II.

Fig. 1b: Jar rim. Di. 18.5cm, H. 7.3cm, W. 12.2cm, Th. 0.9cm. Dark grey paste. Medium vegetal and fine and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in the same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Slightly burnished. Decoration on the outside is in relief, in the form of a rope impression. Handmade. Found during the extension of Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Historic Peninsula, İstanbul. Date: Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age.

Fig. 2a: Hand Axe. Stone. 73–70. L. 12.7cm, W. 6.1cm, Th. 3.5cm. Mottled dark green. Well burnished. Found during the extension of Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Historic Peninsula, İstanbul. Date: Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age.

Fig. 2b: Macehead. Di. 5cm, H. 4.7cm. Dark Green. Well burnished. St. Evphemia Martyrium-Hippodrome (Sultanahmet), Historic Peninsula, İstanbul. Date: Late Chalcolithic Period–Early Bronze Age.

Figs. 3a: Dipper. H. 10.8cm, W. 11.2cm, Th. 0.8cm. Dark grey paste. Medium vegetal and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in the same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Unburnished. Handmade. Fenerbahçe Yatch Harbour. Kadıköy. İstanbul. Date: Early Bronze Age II–III.

Figs. 3b: Dipper. H. 10.8cm, W. 11.2cm, Th. 0.8cm. Dark grey paste. Medium vegetal and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in the same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Unburnished. Handmade. Fenerbahçe Yatch Harbour. Kadıköy. İstanbul. Date: Early Bronze Age II–III.

Figs. 4a: Jug. H. 16.7cm, W. 12.4cm, Th. 0.8cm. Dark buff paste. Medium vegetal and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in the same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Unburnished. Decoration on the outside in bas-relief technique in the round form. Handmade. Fenerbahçe Yatch Harbour. Kadıköy. İstanbul. Date: Early Bronze Age II–III.

Figs. 4b: Jug body. H. 10.5cm, W. 6.2cm, Th. 1cm. Dark grey paste. Medium vegetal and medium mineral tempered. Slipped in the same colour as the paste. Moderate fired. Unburnished. Handmade. Fenerbahçe Yatch Harbour. Kadıköy. İstanbul. Date: Early Bronze Age II–III.

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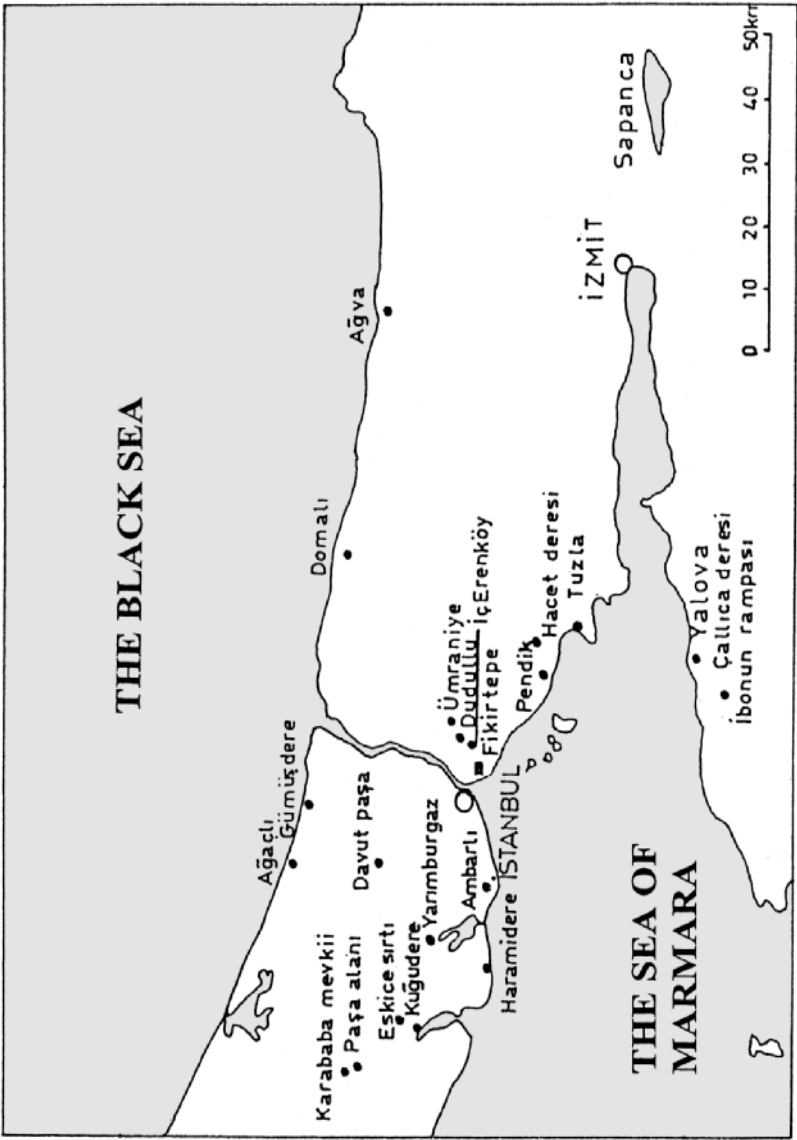
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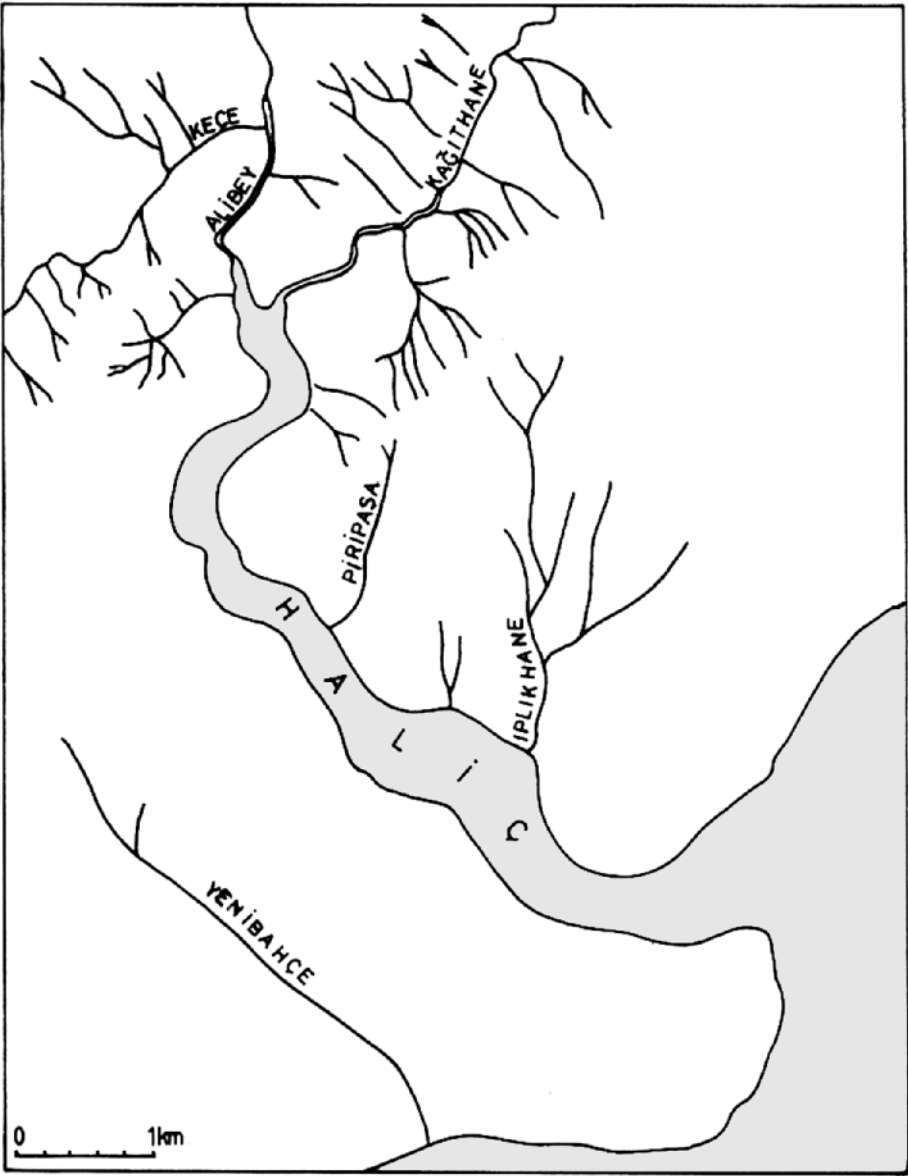
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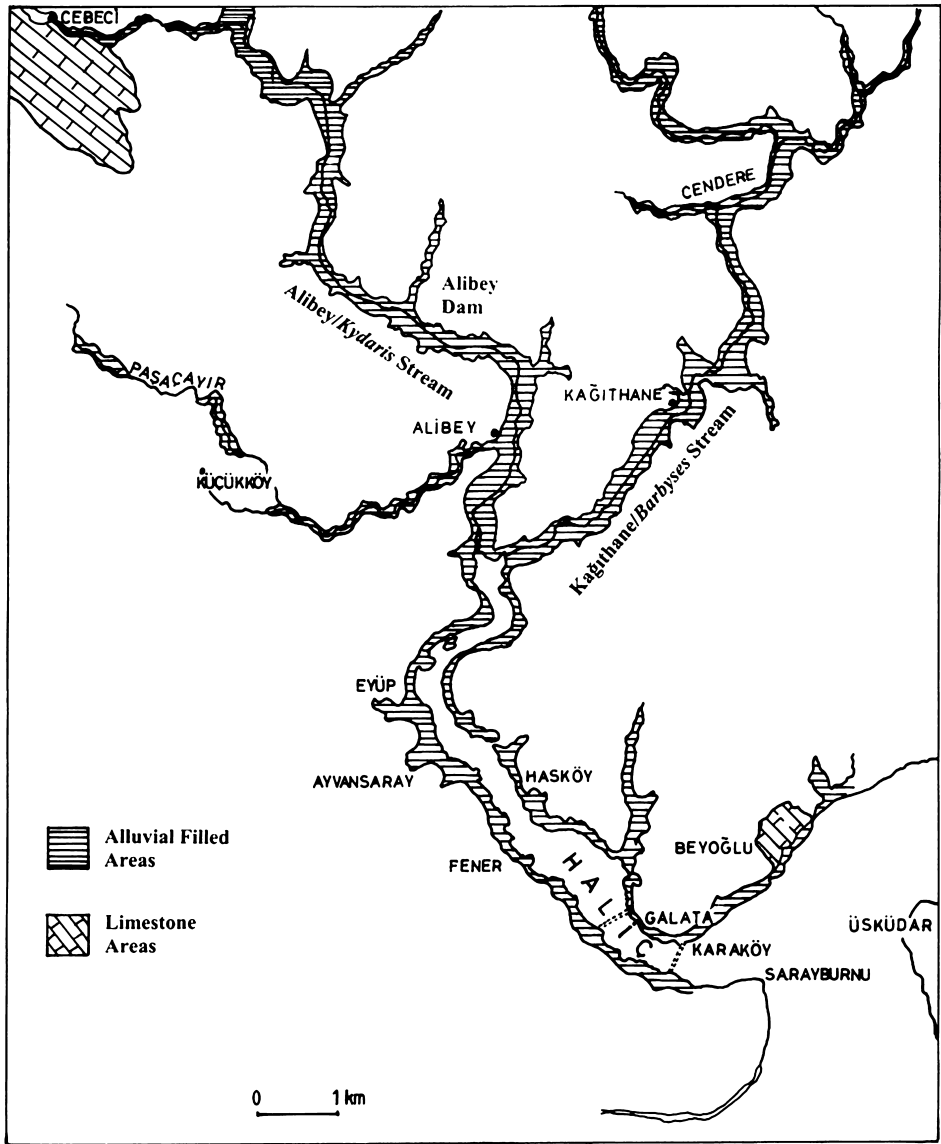
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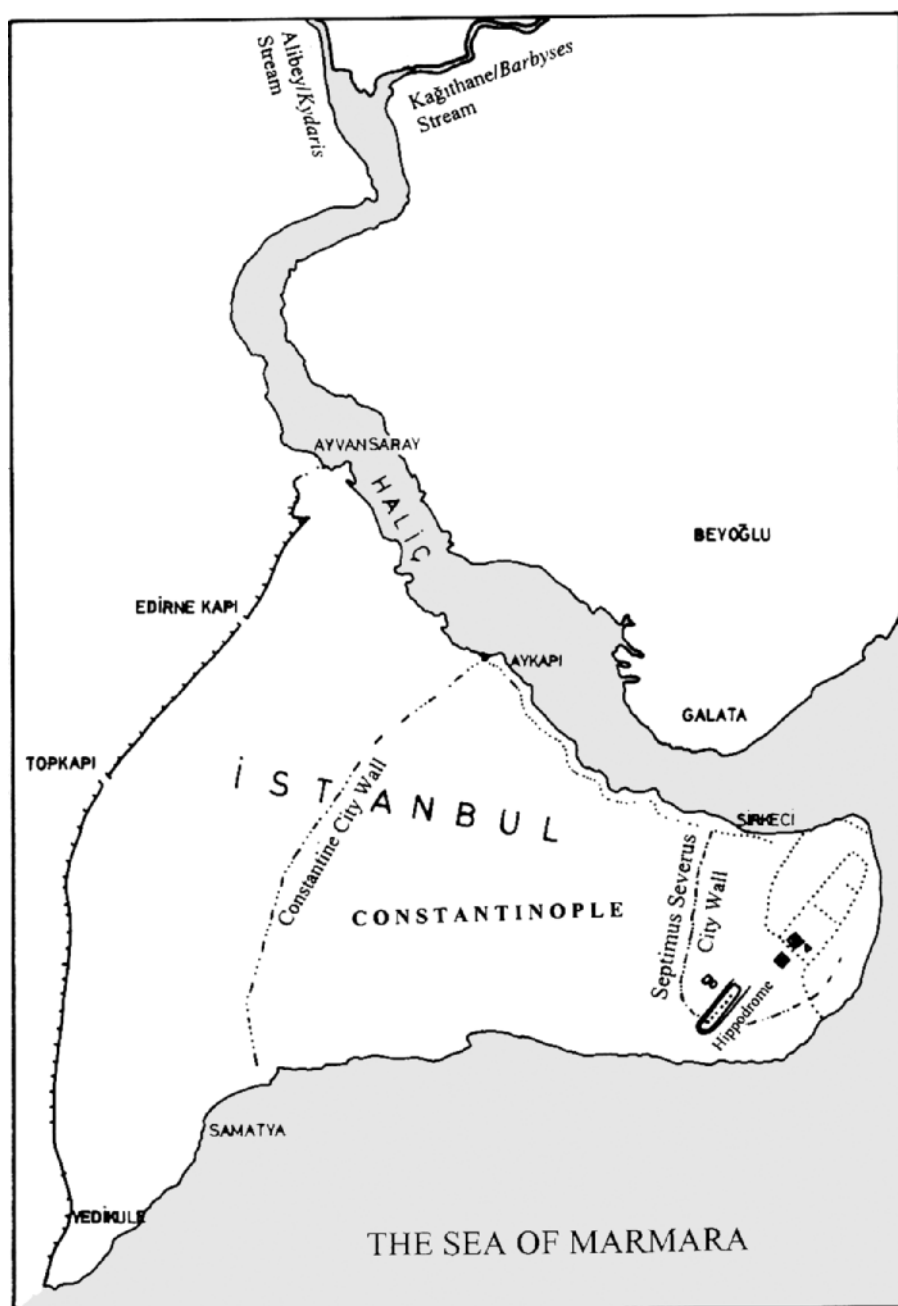
Map 1. The region of Istanbul showing key archaeological sites (After Esin 1992)



Map 2. The region of Haliç (Golden Horn), showing streams that would have attracted prehistoric settlements



Map 3. The alluvial filled areas of the region Haliç (Golden Horn), which might be covering prehistoric settlements



Map 4. The historic precinct of Istanbul showing the location of prehistoric finds near the Hippodrome

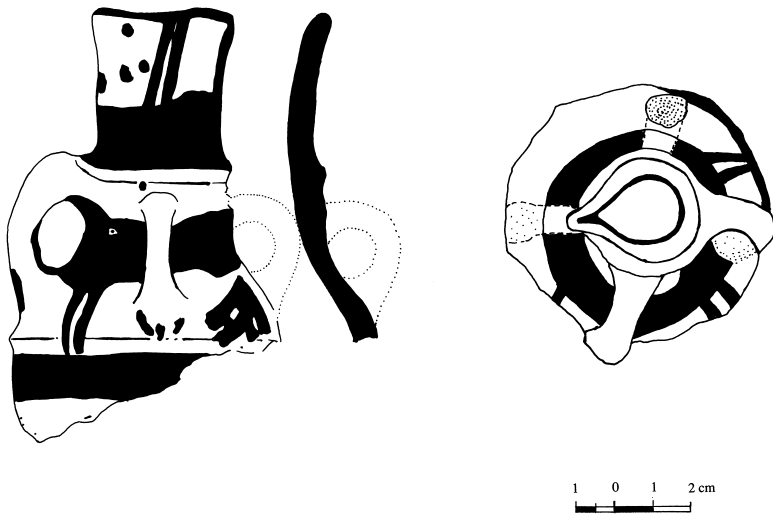


Fig. 1a: Jug with Paint Decoration, Çarşıkapı, Historic Peninsula, İstanbul

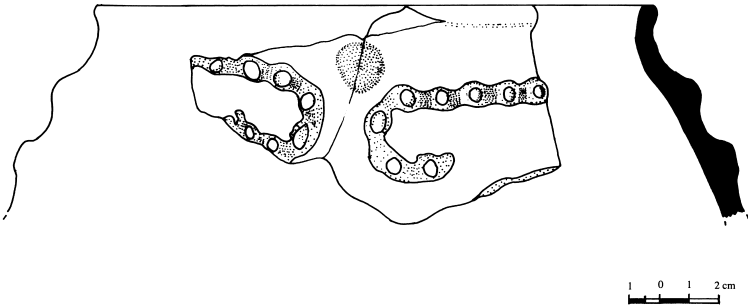


Fig. 1b: Jar rim with a Bas Relief Decoration, Extension Building at İstanbul Archaeological Museums, Historic Peninsula, İstanbul

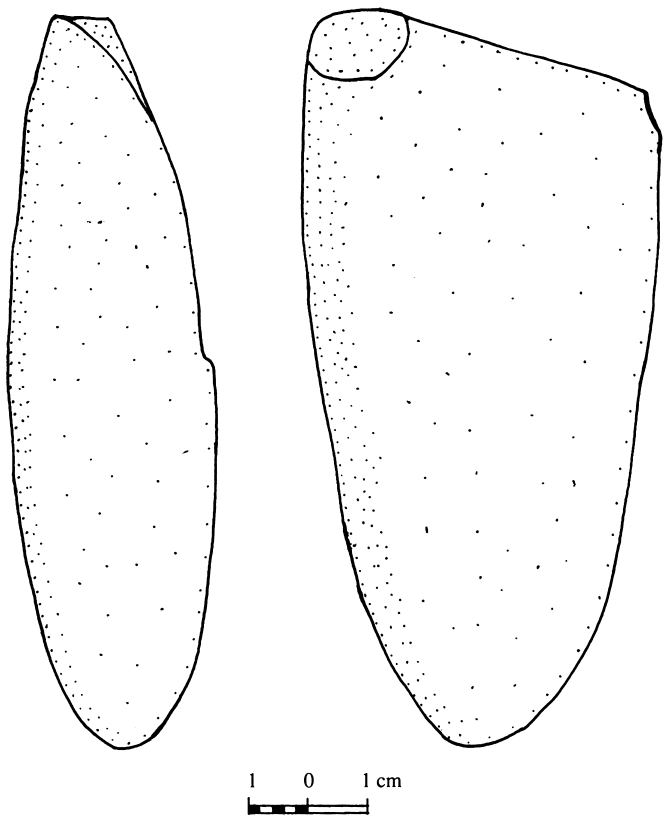


Fig. 2a: Stone Hand Axe, Extension Building at Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Historic Peninsula, Istanbul

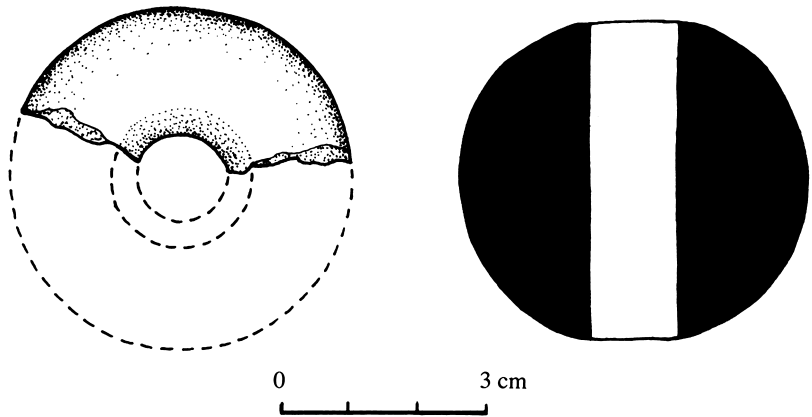


Fig. 2b: Stone Mace-Head, Hippodrome/Sultanahmet-the Martyrium of St. Evphemia, Historic Peninsula, Istanbul

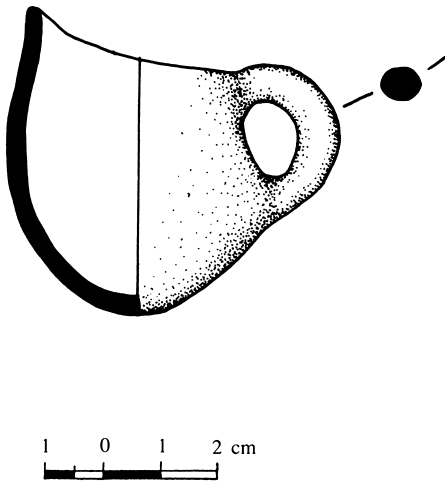


Fig. 3a: Dipper from Fenerbahçe Yatch Harbour, İstanbul

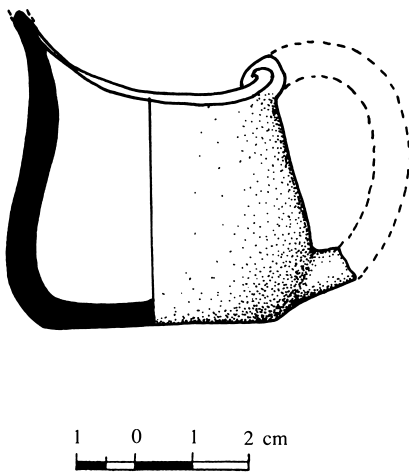


Fig. 3b: Dipper from Fenerbahçe Yatch Harbour, İstanbul

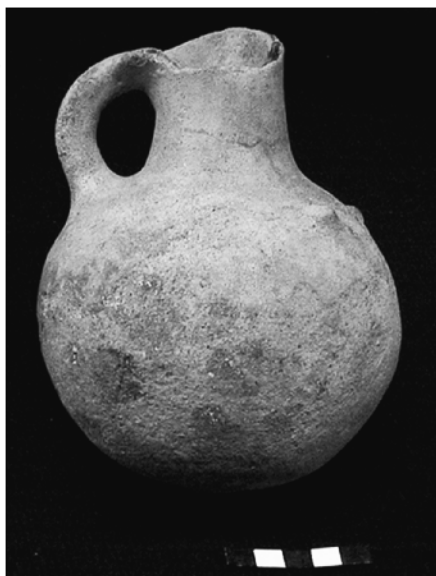
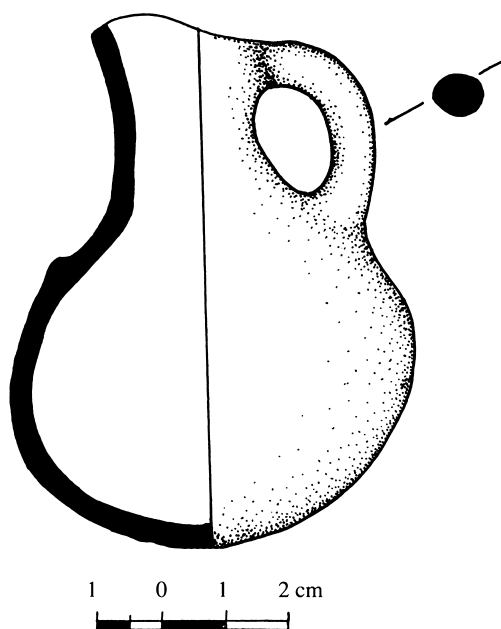


Fig. 4a: Jug from Fenerbahçe Yatch Harbour, İstanbul

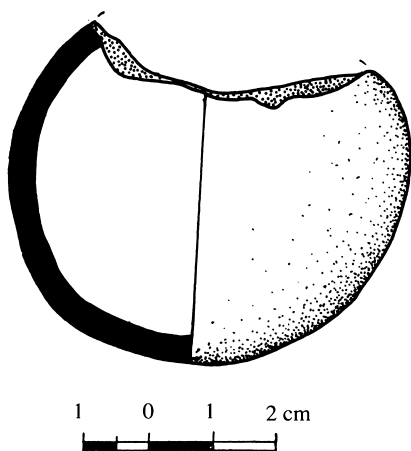


Fig. 4b: Jug from Fenerbahçe Yatch Harbour, İstanbul

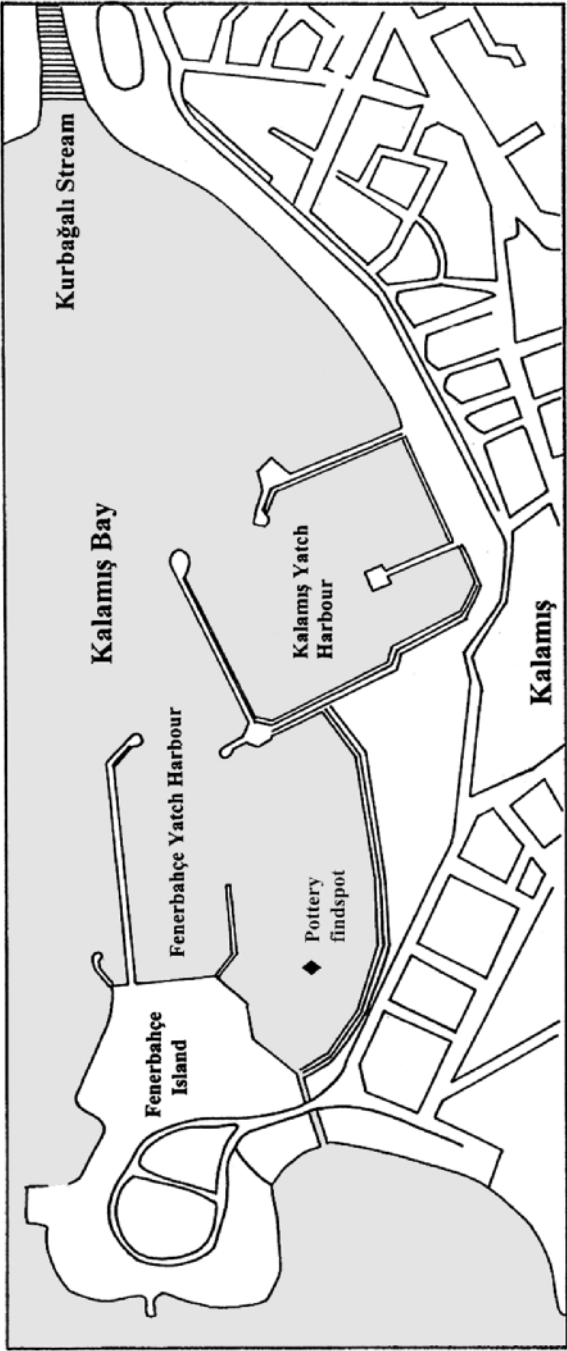


Fig. 5: Sketch Plan of Kalamış Bay and its Vicinity



Fig. 6: An Aerial Photo of Eyüp Region of Haliç (The Golden Horn)



Fig. 7: An Aerial Photo of Şişli-Hasköy Region of Haliç (The Golden Horn)

Ancient Near Eastern History as a Subject of Scholarly investigation: a Review Essay

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Marc Van De Mieroop, 2004 *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000–323 BC*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. Pp. xix + 313 pp. ISBN 0-631-22551-X; ISBN 0-631-22552-8 (pbk).

Marc Van De Mieroop, Professor at Columbia University, is known for a wide range of publications dealing with Mesopotamian civilisation. His most recent work is a textbook about ancient Near Eastern history. After an introduction (“Introductory Concerns”, pp. 1–16), which gives preliminary information about geography, source material and prehistoric developments, the book is subdivided into three main parts. The first, under the title *City States* (pp. 17–118), covers the period from 3000 to 1500 BC. and reviews the emergence and development of urbanism through chapters devoted to the Uruk period, the Sumerian city-states, the centralised states of the Akkad and Ur III dynasties, and the reorganisation of the political map of the Near East in the first half of the second millennium BC. The second part, *Territorial States* (pp. 119–194) includes the period from 1500 to 1000 and pays special attention to the international relations dominated by the “Club of the Great Powers”. Two chapters describe the western states (Mitanni, Hatti and Syria-Palestine) and the eastern states (Assyria, Babylonia and Elam). A last chapter covers the disintegration of this regional system. The third and last part, *Empires* (pp. 195–280), follows the development of the three successive empires of the Assyrians, Babylonians

and Persians, down to the conquest of the region by Alexander. A series of "King Lists" (pp. 281–296), a "Guide to Further Reading" (pp. 297–302), and an index (pp. 303–313) have been appended to the book.

An original feature of this *History* is its illustration about which more will be said below.

Van De Mieroop presents a well balanced account of the most salient features of ancient Near Eastern history. The narration is both personal and comprehensive. Rather than commenting on the author's personal choices and opinions on particular topics, the publication of this book will be taken as an opportunity to comment on some of the methodological problems that anyone wanting to write a history of the ancient Near East would face.¹ Van De Mieroop made the task easier by explaining his views on these problems in the review he published of Amelie Kuhrt's *The Ancient Near East* (Kuhrt 1995; Van De Mieroop 1997, col. 285–305) and by elaborating, in a previous book, on some theoretical and practical aspects of the writing of ancient history (Van De Mieroop 1999).

The first problem is to define the meaning of the phrase "ancient Near East". In his 1997 review, Van De Mieroop noted how vague and fluctuating the existing definitions were and concluded that the only conceptual unity he could find was that the history of the ancient Near East was the history of "an area now considered to have been part of 'the West' prior to ancient Greece" (col. 287). However, he did not propose his own definition. In his new book, he adopts geographical boundaries that, as he admits, "are deliberately somewhat indeterminate" (p. 1). He illustrates this indetermination with a few examples. For instance, Egyptian history, that is not considered as belonging to his subject, "intersects with that of the Near East at many times" (*ibid.*). Similarly, "at times Mesopotamian states reached into the Arabian peninsula" (*ibid.*). It is therefore necessary, in some occasions, to go beyond the proposed limits of the Near East and to include, among others, Egypt and Arabia. This, however, is an *ad hoc* solution. It does not resolve the general problem of a satisfactory definition of the subject of ancient Near Eastern history.

The difficulty, that is not specific to the new book, probably arises from the way the problem is formulated. The two examples of Egypt and Mesopotamia only concern political history. They do not imply that other aspects of ancient life, such as social organisation or religion, are also concerned.

A different approach was suggested seventeen years ago by Mario Liverani. In his own history of the ancient Near East, unfortunately not avail-

¹ The present review continues a discussion started in Bunnens 2000.

able in English, Liverani defined his subject in terms of the progression of urbanisation (Liverani 1988, pp. 13–15). According to him, the entire area affected by urbanisation, and by the subsequent palatial system, should be taken into account. It consisted of a series of interrelated sub-regions, including southern Mesopotamia where the earliest urban society emerged. Liverani deliberately restricted his subject to southern Mesopotamia and the areas adjacent to it. Although he denied any “regional imperialism”, he implicitly admitted some kind of “mesopotamocentrism”. Given those premises, Liverani had also to recognize that the boundaries of the ancient Near East varied over time.

With Liverani’s approach we might get closer to a solution of the debate on the nature of the “ancient Near East”. Liverani shifted the discussion from the exclusively geographical level — what is the Near East? — to a more global approach in which the human factor, especially urbanisation, was determinant. Such an approach must be considered as more productive. History is about human society and its change over time. The human aspect must be considered first.

If we go further, we notice that human societies consist of networks of interrelationships between individuals, which result in formalised systems of comportments and thoughts that are common to entire groups and/or subgroups of human beings. The most adequate term we can use to refer to these systems is “culture”. Therefore the real goal of history as a scholarly discipline cannot be but the study and interpretation of the development and interaction of past cultures.

If we apply these methodological presuppositions to the “ancient Near East” we notice that the way it is treated by Van De Mieroop, and many others before him, actually consists of a study of the Sumero-Akkadian culture and of its interaction with neighbouring cultures. The “Mesopotamocentrism”, for which Liverani felt obliged to apologise, is not an arbitrary choice on the part of historians — admittedly a choice favoured by the fact that Mesopotamia offers the most abundant source material — but an attitude dictated by a comprehensive study of the various developments that took place in the regions to the east of the Mediterranean. The object of study is thus not a geographical region but a specific culture and it is only a matter of convenience if we refer to its development as to “ancient Near Eastern history”, because, contrary to what this phrase suggests, geography is not the main defining factor. It is subordinate to the human factor. The “ancient Near East” is the area in which developed a network of interrelationships between the Sumero-Akkadian and other cultures.

Another problem about which historians cannot reach a consensus is the definition of the chronological boundaries of “ancient Near Eastern his-

tory". When to start? When to stop? The period considered by Van De Mierop extends from the end of the fourth millennium down to Alexander's conquests. These two limits, however, differ in nature.

The upper chronological limit adopted by Van De Mierop, namely the end of the fourth millennium BC, finds its justification in the fact that "several prehistoric processes culminated simultaneously at this time, and writing appeared, dramatically changing the nature of our source material" (p. 2). It is the time of what Van De Mierop calls the "Uruk revolution". More generally, it is the time of the "urban revolution", as Gordon Childe called it many years ago, or, to put it more simply, of the emergence of urbanism. One cannot but agree with such a choice. The late fourth millennium is a time of great transformation and the source of many later developments.

To appreciate its real significance, however, it must be considered in all its complexity. Van De Mierop pinpoints the invention of writing as its most salient feature. This is congruent with the old opinion that held that history begins with the first textual evidence. The criterion, however, is more accidental than essential, especially considering that the first texts, to the extent they are understood, are not very informative. The real distinction should be between recorded and unrecorded history. When writing emerges, wherever it is in the world, it only begins to inform on processes that have already been going on for a long period of time. The fact that Mesopotamia, together with Egypt, had one of the first writing systems known in history does not alter the fact that, when both Mesopotamia and Egypt started writing, they already had a long past — that is a long history — behind them. On the other hand, many regions of the "ancient Near East" are poorly documented by textual evidence or not documented at all. More than in the invention of writing, the importance of the emergence of urbanism must be seen in the fact that, in some regions such as southern Mesopotamia and Egypt, it gave birth to an original culture, of which writing was only one feature, however essential it may have been.

Urbanism was thus a real turning point, a "revolution", but it cannot be used as a chronological terminus in "ancient Near Eastern history" without further qualification. Urbanism emerged first in southern Mesopotamia, western Iran and Egypt, and only several centuries later in other parts of the "ancient Near East". The emergence of urbanism, if it is taken as a chronological terminus, applies thus differently to different parts of the Near East and the rationale for its adoption as a chronological terminus for the entire area cannot be restricted to its intrinsic significance.

Again, culture could open the way towards a solution. With the phrase “Uruk revolution” Van De Mieroop symptomatically brings us back to Mesopotamia. It is also symptomatic that, in his review mentioned above, Van De Mieroop discussed the periodisation, not of the ancient Near East as a whole, as the title of his essay would make us expect, but of Mesopotamia and Egypt (Van De Mieroop 1997, col. 289–296). In clear, this shows that, when discussing the periodisation of “ancient Near Eastern history”, Mesopotamia, which was only one part of the region, emerged as representative of the entire region. The real starting point of “ancient Near Eastern history”, that henceforth will be put between inverted comas, is thus nothing else than the starting point of Mesopotamian culture or, to use a term that is probably anachronistic in the fourth millennium, of the Sumero-Akkadian culture. Only in this perspective can the emergence of urbanism determine a turning point in absolute chronology.

If we admit this, the problem of the lower chronological limit of “ancient Near Eastern history” becomes that of the end of the Sumero-Akkadian culture. As is well known, the Akkadian language was written, if not spoken, until the beginning of our era. But this is only one of the most salient features of a process of dilution that had started much earlier. Actually, the beginning of the end should be placed at the beginning of the Achaemenid period. The conquest of Mesopotamia by Cyrus and its integration in the Achaemenid empire marked the end of the political independence of Mesopotamia. If Sumero-Akkadian culture, in the narrow sense of the word, survived for several centuries, it stopped affecting neighbouring cultures, or it only affected them through the heritage it transmitted to the Achaemenid culture. The process of dilution was accelerated when Alexander destroyed the Achaemenid empire. However, in the perspective that is proposed here, the date of Alexander’s conquest, which Van De Mieroop, after many others, takes as marking the end of “ancient Near Eastern history”, is only one step in a longer process. The real turning point is the Achaemenid period. On the one hand, it perpetuated the Mesopotamian empire of the Assyrians and Babylonians, but, at the same time, it shifted the focus of attention to regions situated to the east of the fertile crescent. And, by encompassing vast regions from the Mediterranean to the Indus valley, it facilitated the interaction between the various cultures of the empire. It is not sufficiently emphasised that the Achaemenid period is also the period during which hellenism started spreading to most regions of the ancient world. The Achaemenid period is a time of profound mutations and culture change. It should be seen as the beginning of a new era rather than the end of “ancient Near Eastern history”. Its inclusion in a survey of “ancient Near

Eastern history” can be justified only as a conclusion to the whole story, when a new chapter of history is progressively opening.

“Ancient Near Eastern history” covers the time span between the emergence of urbanism in southern Mesopotamia and the “globalisation” that took place during the Achaemenid period.

The periodization of “ancient Near Eastern history” is another of the problems on which historians hesitate. Van De Mieroop is extremely dubitative about the possibility of reaching an agreement in this respect. His opinion is best summarised by himself (pp. 2–3; see also Van De Mieroop 1997, col. 289–296). After observing that “a sequence of phases, mostly defined in dynastic terms based on events in Mesopotamia, is strung together as a historical continuum,” he concludes: “In the end, the availability and extent of the sources define the ancient Near East as a historical subject and subdivide its history” (p. 3). Such a statement seems to be much too pessimistic. It is true that the available evidence only gives sorts of snapshots of various apparently unrelated fields. “Stringing them together” in a “historical continuum” may seem an impossible task, but the difficulty can be overcome, at least to some extent. The problem is to identify similarities between isolated groups of sources. If similarities exist between groups that are dated to different periods, continuities may be hypothesised between them and, consequently, gaps can be filled and a general picture can be drawn, however blurred it may seem in many places.

Let us consider Mesopotamia. The traditional periods of Mesopotamian history could be grouped together in the following way:

- I. The formation of Sumero-Akkadian culture
 - A. The origins (= Uruk period)
 - B. Shaping Sumero-Akkadian culture (Early Dynastic and Akkad)
 - C. The classical age (Lagash dynasty/Gudea, Ur III, Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods)
- II. The mature Sumero-Akkadian culture
 - A. Canonisation of the heritage (Kassite period and early first millennium BC)
 - B. A Babylonian “Renaissance” (Neo-Babylonian period)

During phase II a sub-group of the Sumero-Akkadian culture emerged in the North around Assur. It took shape during the Kassite period (Middle Assyrian period) and culminated in the first half of the first millennium BC with the Neo-Assyrian empire which came to an end when the Neo-Babylonians started a kind of Renaissance. Prior to the Middle-

Assyrian period, during the so-called Old-Assyrian period, the region around Assur was part of a whole that extended to all northern Mesopotamia, which politically materialised at the time of Shamshi-Addu in the eighteenth century.

However, the Mesopotamian scheme applies only loosely to other regions. Let us take the example of Syria. During the Uruk period, and despite the presence of Uruk settlements in Syria, the region was still at the village level of organisation and the period can be broadly defined as Chalcolithic. Urbanism emerged in the first half of the third millennium (Early Bronze I–III) and culminated in the second half of the millennium (Early Bronze IVa and b). The time around 2000 BC was a period of intensive change. Soon emerged the mature Syrian culture (Middle Bronze I and II) which extended into the second half of the millennium (Late Bronze I and II). Another crisis affected the area soon after 1200 and, from the eleventh century onwards, a kind of Renaissance took shape in the Aramaean and Syro-Hittite states. This period came to a progressive end with the spread of the Assyrian domination. This evolution could be formalised as follows:²

- I. The formation of Syrian culture
 - A. The first urban culture (EB I–III)
 - B. The age of the large regional centres (EB IVa and B)
- II. The mature Syrian culture
 - A. Rebuilding the Syrian culture (MB I)
 - B. The classical age of Syrian culture (MB II and LB I–II)
- III. The “Syrian Renaissance”
 - A. Rebuilding Syrian culture again (IA I)
 - B. The Aramaean and Syro-Hittite “Renaissance” (IA II/III)

The emergence of Syrian culture does not go back as far in the past as that of the Sumero-Akkadian culture. It is true that major crises — one around 2000, another one in 1600/1500 and a third one in 1200/1100 — affected both areas simultaneously, but their impact differed according to

² P. Matthiae has proposed a periodisation of ancient Syria into “Proto-Syrian” (“archaic” = EB I–III; “mature” = EB IVa; “late” = EB IVb), “Palaeo-Syrian” (“archaic” = MB I; “mature” = MB II), “Medio-Syrian” (LB), and “Neo-Syrian” (Iron Age) (see Matthiae 1995, pp. 48–49). Besides the terminology, the periodisation that is proposed here differs from that of Matthiae essentially on two points: it considers the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as forming one cultural period and leaves the door open to identifying more recent periods in the development of Syrian culture, such as the Hellenistic/Roman period or the Umayyad period (see Bunnens 2000, p. 8).

the regions. If the 2000 crisis seems to have had a profound impact on both areas, the 1600/1500 crisis affected Mesopotamia more than Syria and, conversely, the 1200/1100 crisis affected Syria more than Mesopotamia.

The same kind of observations could be made about other areas of the “ancient Near East”, for instance Anatolia or Iran. There is no perfect match between the internal development of the Sumero-Akkadian culture and that of these regions, even though, at times, they seem to follow the same path. The first conclusion that can be drawn is that no periodisation applies to the entire “ancient Near East”. This, however, should not be taken as an indication that these regions cannot be considered together. There is a unifying factor, which is the level of Mesopotamian interference. Mesopotamian interference can be evaluated not only by political intrusions from Mesopotamia but also by practices such as the adoption of the Akkadian language and script, the use of cylinder seals or a specific form of iconography, all originating in Mesopotamia. Local cultures developed at their own pace and faced their own internal problems, but they were all affected, to some degree and differently according to time, by Mesopotamian culture. Only very broad phenomena, such as the emergence of urbanism or the advent of Hellenism, concern the entire region, but rarely at the same time everywhere. The sole unifying factor of “ancient Near Eastern history” is therefore the development of its most expansive and most long-lived component, the Sumero-Akkadian culture. Interaction between this and other cultures forms the framework of “ancient Near Eastern history”. This is why, even though no periodisation can apply to the entire area, the “ancient Near East” can, nonetheless, be considered as a subject of historical investigation.

In the three instances of geographic extension, chronological boundaries and periodisation, culture appears to be satisfactory as a defining factor. Culture is thus the notion on which historians should concentrate when they define the subject of their research. Geography is misleading, as is, in the present case, the notion of “Near East”. As for chronological boundaries, dates of particular or spectacular events, as, in the present case, the emergence of writing or Alexander’s conquest, may mask a deeper and more significant reality. And periodisation is satisfactory only if it applies to a smaller unit than the “ancient Near East”.

We can now turn to more practical considerations. As was said above, an original feature of Van De Mieroop’s book is its illustration, which aims to present supporting evidence for the notions developed in the text. Illustrations include “figures” reproducing photos of artefacts, “charts” with chronological tables and a list of weights and measures, “maps”, “boxes”

with explicative texts about specific problems such as year names (p. 61)³ or Assyrian royal annals (p. 170) and “documents” that consist of translations of ancient texts. The author must be praised for including these in his study. Illustration is not there just to make the pages less compact, as is most often the case, but to contribute to the general goal of the book, *i.e.* to introduce the reader to “ancient Near Eastern history”. A minor criticism would concern the “boxes”, which are mere developments of some aspects of the themes discussed in the text. They could have been placed in the text as an integral part of it.

It must be regretted that these illustrations are not more abundant. All the main themes developed in the book should have been illustrated by an example of either textual or material evidence. The publisher is perhaps more to blame for this than the author, as publishers are often reluctant to develop illustration. More generally, these illustrations raise a major problem of history-writing when it aims at popularising the conclusions reached by scholars in often esoteric publications: how to offer a plausible reconstruction and explanation of the past without masking the uncertainties of our knowledge? An ideal textbook should not only summarise the conclusions that the author finds the more plausible, but it should also introduce the reader to the intricacies of historical criticism, especially complicated when dealing with cuneiform text material. Information supplied by diplomatic correspondence, for instance, cannot be treated in the same way as evidence deriving from a later chronicle. The ideal textbook should also give an idea of the debates going on in scholarly literature. Van De Mieroop developed excellent ideas about these methodological problems in Van De Mieroop 1999. The present book might have gained from including more of these ideas in its discussions.

As it stands, however, this book is an extremely useful introduction to “ancient Near Eastern history” and it should be recommended to students at all levels. Good reading for beginners, it will remain a reliable companion throughout their studies.

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³ The only exception is the Uruk vase (p. 26) that should have been placed among the figures.

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Comparing Two Books on Mesopotamian Archaeology

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Ancient Mesopotamia: The Eden that Never Was by Susan Pollock¹ and *Archaeology of Mesopotamia: Theories and Approaches* by Roger Matthews² are two recent introductions to ancient Mesopotamia. Although both texts highlight theoretical frameworks in Mesopotamian archaeology, the specific purpose and execution of each are distinct enough to allow their use as complementary approaches that emphasise different aspects of the study and history of the region. *Ancient Mesopotamia* is a presentation of its author's own innovative interpretation of the archaeological remains from the

¹ Pollock 1999.

² Matthews 2003.

Ubaid to the end of the Akkadian period. It can be consulted for detailed information on the material culture of the time periods it covers. *Archaeology of Mesopotamia* is a more general study of the discipline itself, focusing on the methods and theoretical approaches that have been utilised by various scholars in addressing important questions of the human past, referred to as the 'big issues'.³ In contrast to *Ancient Mesopotamia*, it provides only a general sense of the material culture of specific sites in Mesopotamia, and these are chosen for their relevance to the 'big issues' discussed.

The authors interpret and present the material remains of Mesopotamia from two different theoretical viewpoints. Whereas both Matthews and especially Pollock are committed to being explicit about their theoretical approaches, Pollock is dedicated to an approach combining 'political economy' and 'feminist archaeology,' which sets clear boundaries on her interpretation and treatment of the material.⁴ Matthews, on the other hand, does not advocate an overarching theoretical approach, and his position can be defined as an amalgam of culture history and anthropological archaeology. These two approaches, he notes, work best in concert with one another.⁵ In his chapter on the 'tools of the trade'— Chapter 2, see below— however, it is abundantly evident that he has his own pet theoretical stance: interpretive archaeology (unsurprising given his work with Ian Hodder at Çatalhöyük, which is his exemplar of archaeological excavation).

If Matthews is a guide to the landscape of ancient Mesopotamian scholarship, then Pollock's work is a particular destination on the map, presenting her own view of Mesopotamian society over three thousand years (*ca.* 5000 to 2100 BCE), based primarily on archaeological data. In the introduction, she offers an overview of the major archaeological characteristics of the periods discussed and a brief history of archaeological work in Mesopotamia.

Chapter 2 is a lengthy discussion of the ancient environment, with a recurring focus on humanity's mutually responsive relationship with its natural setting. Pollock believes that the notion of resource disparities between the lowlands and neighboring areas, although sometimes overemphasised, is an important factor in understanding the social and political organisation of Mesopotamia.⁶ Pollock's next six chapters highlight different aspects of Mesopotamian civilization. She is, for the most part, able to maintain her grasp on chronological differences and developments within this thematic arrangement.

³ Matthews 2003, p. xi.

⁴ Pollock 1999, pp. 22–25.

⁵ Matthews 2003, p. 26.

⁶ Pollock 1999, p. 44.

Chapter 3 is entirely dedicated to settlement patterns, and, like Chapter 2, is a factual, straightforward introduction to its subject matter. Detailed discussions of a sequence of periods are supplied by a number of settlement pattern maps.⁷ The settlement patterns for the Ubaid through Early Dynastic periods show a tendency towards the frequent shift and abandonment of small settlements and movement towards urban centers.⁸ Pollock suggests that settlement shift and population movements—such as the apparent shift in population proportions between the Nippur-Adab and Uruk regions in the late Uruk period—were related to the increasing demands of the ruling classes.⁹

Her discussion of ‘cities’ in this chapter, however, stands out as one example of an inclination to overly compress geographical differences, even for an introductory text. It presents cities in Mesopotamia, and their constituent parts, as a uniform phenomenon throughout the region,¹⁰ that is, without further information about individual sites and the varying architectural forms of houses at each, for example. A comparison of Early Dynastic houses from Khafajah,¹¹ Kurban Höyük, Tell Taya, and Titriş Höyük demonstrates the variety.¹²

Chapters 4 and 5,¹³ perhaps the most important parts of Pollock’s overview of the ancient Mesopotamian past, are concerned with Mesopotamian economy from the fifth millennium BCE to the end of the Early Dynastic period. Pollock’s feminist stance is most apparent in these chapters, with her discussion of how gender roles in the division of labor were shaped by economic change in southern Mesopotamia up to the end of the fourth millennium BCE.¹⁴ In her discussion of these transformations she sketches the debate over whether or not the Uruk economy was regionally centralised and hierarchical (with Henry Wright and Gregory Johnson¹⁵ and Hans Nissen¹⁶ arguing for, Robert Adams¹⁷ arguing against and then suggests her model of a tributary economy as an alternative, which presents a compromise in the debate.¹⁸

⁷ Pollock 1999, pp. 52–55, figs 3.8–3.11.

⁸ Pollock 1999, pp. 74–75.

⁹ Pollock 1999, pp. 71–72, 75.

¹⁰ Pollock 1999, pp. 46–51.

¹¹ Pollock 1999, p. 50, fig. 3.2.

¹² See Rainville 2005, pp. 88–142.

¹³ Pollock 1999, pp. 78–148.

¹⁴ Pollock 1999, pp. 102–104, 110.

¹⁵ Wright and Johnson 1975; Johnson 1973, 1975 and 1987; Wright 1981a and 1986.

¹⁶ Nissen 1974 and 1988, ch. 4.

¹⁷ Adams 1974 and 1981.

¹⁸ Pollock 1999, pp. 93–116.

We should pause here to consider a problem in the discussion. Pollock has been criticised for not elaborating sufficiently on the idea¹⁹ that the economy can be described as 'tributary' in the fifth and fourth millennia BCE.²⁰ The explanation she gives, that a tributary economy was '...dependent to a significant degree on the mobilization of tribute, in the form of goods or the labor used to produce them, from producers to a political elite',²¹ perhaps requires further clarification. The term 'tribute' can refer to the payment received by one ruler or government from another in return for protection or as an affirmation of its supremacy, to a burdensome tax imposed by a government, or to some sort of voluntary contribution. It is unfortunately unclear what exactly Pollock implies by 'tributary economy' and more importantly the means by which the collection of tribute might have been secured by the elite (whom she sees as the temple residents, since religious authority was dominant as early as the Ubaid period²²).

Her argument for a tributary economy in the Uruk period, depends largely on the interpretation of beveled-rim bowls as ration vessels,²³ an interpretation which, though accepted by others and not completely implausible, is not convincing enough to sustain the full weight of her argument. Furthermore, the Late Uruk texts she cites, which feature the sign 'to eat' with bowls resembling the beveled-rim bowl, do not require us to view these bowls specifically as ration bowls. A more detailed discussion of the archaeological context of the bowls is necessary. For instance, how does the presence of beveled-rim bowls in child graves of the Uruk period in Susa relate to her theory (referred to in a different context²⁴)? Without evidence for a system of ration distribution, Pollock cannot fully answer how the tribute system she proposes would have operated or been enforced: what incentive would village communities have had to contribute either food or labor to towns?

In Chapter 5, Pollock continues her discussion of economic organisation into the third millennium, arguing that the Early Dynastic economy was based on large, non kin-based households associated with elite institutions like temples and palaces. While this idea has been criticised, it seems flexible enough to fit with the available evidence. On the one hand, most everyone agrees that there were large, non kin-based estates, such as the household of the goddess Bau in Lagash, which was actually administered by

¹⁹ Hellwing 1999, p. 679.

²⁰ Pollock 1999, pp. 79–80.

²¹ Pollock 1999, p. 80.

²² Pollock 1999, p. 115.

²³ Pollock 1999, 94–95

²⁴ Pollock 1999, p. 205.

Uru'inimgina and his wife.²⁵ On the other hand, Pollock says that this system was not all-encompassing or uniform,²⁶ which allows for the private economic activity of this time known from land-sale documents.²⁷

Chapter 6, an overview of bureaucracy and the origins of writing, is an uncontroversial part of Pollock's work that summarises the current discussion on these subjects. She argues that writing appeared as a response to changes in economy and social structure and that its use was deliberately restricted to a controlled scribal group as it posed a threat to the system.²⁸ They alone had the potential to alter documents, and could control access to them. Pollock does not take a position with regard to the origin of writing, but gives equal time to Denise Schmandt-Besserat's developmentalist theory²⁹ and its main alternative as articulated by Piotr Michalowski.³⁰

Chapters 7 and 8 both address ideology, the former focusing on the legitimization of power by the elite through the use of monumental art and religion, the latter examining the reflection of ideology in mortuary practices. Pollock characterises ideology in a Marxist sense as portraying the "particular interests and values of certain social groups as if they were those of everyone in a society".³¹ This laying of her cards on the table is helpful, since the theme of the elites' legitimisation of their dominance and exploitation, mainly through religion, pervades her discussions before and after this chapter.

As a final note, Pollock also presents a basic outline of the practice of archaeology as a research tool in boxed sidebars distributed throughout her discussion. She covers excavation techniques, the techniques and challenges of settlement survey, faunal remains and their analysis, and mortuary analysis in archaeology. These sidebars are a complement to her more historiographical discussion of developments like the decipherment of writing.

Turning to *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia*, Matthews notes in the preface that his ultimate aim is to provide a discussion of method and theory in the archaeology of Mesopotamia.³² The reader is given a crash course in archaeology and the various subdisciplines that are employed in Mesopotamia. We learn all the major theories and players in the archaeology of Mesopotamia, without having to read all of the scholarship, and we gain a sense of their strengths and weaknesses.

²⁵ Van De Microop 2004, p. 45.

²⁶ Pollock 1999, p. 147.

²⁷ Gelb 1969; Gelb, Steinkeller and Whiting 1991.

²⁸ Pollock 1999, pp. 170–171.

²⁹ Schmandt-Besserat 1978, 1979, 1986 and 1992.

³⁰ Michalowski 1990 and 1993.

³¹ Pollock 1999, p. 173.

³² Matthews 2003, p. 1.

In an introductory chapter Matthews outlines the history of the discipline up to the twenty-first century AD. By putting archaeology in Mesopotamia into its political as well as its historical context, he demonstrates a contemporary awareness of the issues arising from Mesopotamian archaeology's long history. While arguing that archaeology should not bear the full weight of the West's entrepreneurial and colonial activities in the Mesopotamia, he does fully acknowledge archaeology's complicity in expropriating the Mesopotamian past for its own benefit.³³ As a counterbalance to the Eurocentric tradition, he draws attention to the scientific inquiries of medieval Arab intellectuals, and his point about the West's dissociation of ancient Mesopotamia from modern Iraq in order to allay its guilty conscience is particularly well made.

The principles and methods of field-work in the Near East are introduced in Chapter 2.³⁴ The discussion revolves around the Diyala Project led by Robert Adams, illustrating the uses and importance of survey, and the site of Çatalhöyük in central Anatolia, exemplifying the benefits of interdisciplinary research and the testing of multiple theories. As we noted above, Matthews' inclination towards interpretive archaeology is apparent in this chapter. He is careful to acknowledge, however, that interpretive archaeological techniques (as distinct from interpretive archaeological interpretation) are in practice no different from processual ones.³⁵ His sections on excavation technique and survey could be substantially shorter, however. He need only have provided enough information for the reader to understand and contextualise the significance of the research projects at Çatalhöyük that he discusses later; practical instructions such as which tools to use and shoes to wear seem out of place.³⁶ One has the sense that Matthews was carried away by his enthusiasm for that site into stepping beyond the scope of his book, here and also in his semi-imaginative reconstruction of an experience in a Neolithic house.³⁷ While he later explicitly endorses the use of narrative even (and especially!) when evidence is scarce,³⁸ some might feel that this unacknowledged performance of it early on could lead astray lay readers who are unfamiliar with its theoretical roots. Another area in which Matthew's views come strongly to the fore is the relationship between Assyriology and archaeology. While the need for greater interaction be-

³³ Matthews 2003, pp. 1–7.

³⁴ Matthews 2003, pp. 27–76.

³⁵ Matthews 2003, p. 47.

³⁶ Matthews 2003, pp. 43–44.

³⁷ Matthews 2003, pp. 44–45.

³⁸ Matthews 2003, p. 191.

tween these two fields has become something of a cliché, Matthews attacks the notion of “the supremacy of the word” with unusual passion, arguing that texts are no more inherently informative than any other archaeological artifact, all of which are equally dependent (from our point of view) on scholarly interpretation.³⁹

After introducing the reader to the history and methodologies of the field, in four successive chapters (Chapters 3–6) Matthews presents the research topics that have lately been most dominant: the emergence of agriculture, the evolution of complex societies and empires, and the everyday life of the peoples of the past, all with the aim of illustrating that Mesopotamian archaeology is ‘uniquely suited’ for the study of these ‘big questions’.⁴⁰ In Chapter 3, he explores the ways in which one of these big issues, the transition from a hunter-gatherer to an agricultural way of life, has been treated in light of research based on climate, plant and animal remains. He emphasises the role played by cognitive factors,⁴¹ such as the emergence of cult and ritual in laying the groundwork for the Neolithic Revolution, as well as social and environmental factors such as the development of a sedentary lifestyle.⁴²

In Chapter 4, Matthews considers methods of dealing with social complexity in the Ubaid and the Uruk periods through a comparison of opposing hypotheses on social complexity. A novel suggestion by Matthews is the possibility that monumental structures, especially temples, might have conveyed non-elite or anti-elite messages. His examples of such religious structures in modern Turkey and Iraq⁴³ show that such an explanation is plausible, though some might feel that without a supporting example from ancient Mesopotamia, the point is only speculative.

The chapter about empires begins with a discussion based on the author’s own tripartite schema for approaching the subject, which attempts to connect anthropological characteristics of empires with both archaeological and textual correlates. Here we see Matthews’ desire to wed culture history to anthropological archaeology by treating texts as archaeological data. He addresses the relationship between texts and archaeology again, forcefully, when he criticises Mario Liverani’s hypothesis that archaeological ‘methods of proto-historical reconstruction [for the Akkadian empire]...prove to be fallacious as soon as we have an outer and comparable set of data’.⁴⁴

³⁹ Matthews 2003, pp. 57–61.

⁴⁰ Matthews 2003, p. xi.

⁴¹ With reference to Cauvin 2000a, 2000b and 2001; Hodder 1990 and 2001.

⁴² Matthews 2003, pp. 89–92.

⁴³ Matthews 2003, pp. 110–111.

⁴⁴ Liverani 1993, p. 8.

Matthews's response to what he calls the 'assaying of archaeology against the 'trueness' of the written record' is to suggest that the written records, so far from being the authoritative source on the Akkadian empire, have kept scholars from recognising that it is actually an 'inhabitant of prehistory, or better a history'.⁴⁵

Chapter 6, dealing with reconstructing the lives of ancient Mesopotamians, is where the effects of the relatively recent development of feminist — or gender — archaeology can be strongly felt, as Matthews reflects on daily routines, domestic organisation, and nomadism. This chapter is one of the most exciting, as it details new developments in interdisciplinary approaches used by archaeologists at Abu Salabikh and Ur, to name two projects.⁴⁶ Finally, in the last chapter he discusses possible directions for the future of the field.

A few aspects of Matthews' and Pollock's treatments of their subjects can be illustrated through a comparative analysis of their biases and use of evidence. An essential point in our comparison of Matthews and Pollock is that of theoretical emphasis. A major drawback in Pollock's inquiry into the lives of the common people of Ancient Mesopotamia is her conviction that they were, throughout its history, the passive victims of the plots and designs of a malevolent ruling elite. She strives to explain a wide range of phenomena in light of 'political economy' and insists on this approach to the degree that her entire social and cultural reconstructions are based on the 'analytical focus on inequalities'.⁴⁷ She explicitly reduces religion to a form of ideology legitimising exploitation,⁴⁸ and her discussion of mortuary practices reflects a similar bias. According to Pollock mortuary practices either express or ignore (or, more explicitly, 'mask'⁴⁹) social inequality.

Matthews, on the other hand, does not view asymmetrical social and economic relationships as 'unnatural', pointing out that they have 'characterized the entirety of human history'.⁵⁰ In general, he evaluates the works of others and takes multiple viewpoints into consideration, and presents his own interpretation of the archaeological record with reluctance, only indicating subtly the direction in which he himself would lean. Though this leaves little room for novelty, it allows for a flexible handling of certain subjects. For example, his discussion of opposing hypotheses on social com-

⁴⁵ Matthews 2003, p. 152.

⁴⁶ Matthews 2003, pp. 172–178.

⁴⁷ Pollock 1999, p. 23.

⁴⁸ Pollock 1999, pp. 5, 88, 191, 194.

⁴⁹ Pollock 1999, p. 216, table 7.3.

⁵⁰ Matthews 2003, p. 141.

plexity — Susan Pollock⁵¹ and Judith Berman⁵² for the Ubaid, and Guillermo Algaze⁵³ and Gil Stein⁵⁴ for the Uruk periods — demonstrates that social complexity in these periods can be interpreted in a variety of ways.⁵⁵

Another important point of comparison is the authors' manipulation of different types of evidence. Though both Pollock's and Matthews' books are naturally weighted to archaeological information, they seem to agree that an integrated approach is ideal, especially when the textual sources are from secure archaeological contexts.⁵⁶ It is worth mentioning, though, that Pollock achieves this more fully than Matthews. Her reader benefits from the interdisciplinary nature of her work, with its deft handling of zooarchaeology, iconography, settlement patterns, faunal remains, artifact distribution, activity patterning, texts, and burials. Matthews deals with some of the same lines of inquiry, with particular attention to zooarchaeology,⁵⁷ but his neglect of scholarship on artistic evidence and iconography leaves a significant gap in his book. In fact, he even seems to downplay their significance.⁵⁸ Pollock on the other hand, makes extensive use of artistic works in her chapters on economy and ideology, and her argument certainly is the stronger for it.

A final point of comparison revolves around the purpose of the two volumes and the authors' success in addressing their intended audience. Although the authors have not specified their audience, one can assume, judging from the straightforwardness of the presentation of data and the frequent explanations of technical terms, that both Pollock and Matthews have written for initiates into the field. *Ancient Mesopotamia*, being a comprehensive treatment of the archaeological record, fulfills its purpose as a textbook for the novice, although some background in the history of the area would certainly be an advantage. It warrants the attention also of specialists, due to the strong theoretical perspectives Pollock offers. Matthews, consistent with the aim of his book, does justice to a variety of scholarly views on the topics that he handles. Although it might not be as useful for professionals, Matthews has given students of ancient Mesopotamia an extremely helpful guide to the discipline of Mesopotamian archaeology. It

⁵¹ Pollock 1993.

⁵² Berman 1994.

⁵³ Algaze 1989, 1993, 2001a and 2001b.

⁵⁴ Stein 1999a and 1999b.

⁵⁵ Matthews 2003, pp. 102–108, 114–126.

⁵⁶ Matthews 2003, p. 158, Pollock 1999, pp. 25–27.

⁵⁷ For example, Matthews 2003, pp. 79–89.

⁵⁸ Matthews 2003, p. 58.

should be noted, however, that he does not maintain the introductory level throughout, as the content of the chapters do not seem to address the same level of audience. While certain chapters are oversimplified,⁵⁹ others include meticulous theoretical debates and would surely require some background in archaeological theory and familiarity with the archaeological record itself.⁶⁰

Fortunately for the student and the scholar alike, Matthews and Pollock's books complement one another and the reader acquires the fullest and broadest understanding of Mesopotamia by studying both. Pollock provides the reader with a particular treatment of ancient Mesopotamia, while Matthews helps the reader to stand back and evaluate the many different treatments that are in circulation.

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⁵⁹ See Matthews 2003, pp. 27–66, Chapter 2.

⁶⁰ See Matthews 2003, pp. 134–147, Chapter 5.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Christoph Ohlig, Yehuda Peleg, Tsvika Tsuk (eds), *Cura Aquarum in Israel* (Schriften der Deutschen Wasserhistorischen Gesellschaft (DWhG)), vol 1, Siegburg 2002. ISBN 3–8311–4562–8, pp. xiii + 312.

This volume is the latest in the series, '*Cura Aquarum in ...*', a series that can trace its origins back to 1974, when Waldemar Haberey of the Landesmuseum in Bonn was invited by the Director of the Leichtweiss Institute of the Technical University at Braunschweig, Prof. Günther Garbrecht, and Prof. Henning Fahlbusch, who was then his assistant, to give a lecture on the Roman aqueduct, which brought water from the Eifel mountains to Cologne. After the lecture the three planned a one-day conference on hydraulic engineering, which took place at Coblenz in 1975. Haberey's contribution to the conference, a lecture on the inverted siphons at Lyon, led to a symposium in the new museum at Lyon in 1977, followed by others in Istanbul (1979), Athens (1981), Jerusalem (1983), and Cairo (1985). Prof. Henning Fahlbusch, by then at the Technical College Lübeck, organised the next two symposia, in Rome (1988) and Mérida (1991). Then, at the initiative of Prof. Jos de Waele, the Archaeological Institute of the Catholic University Nijmegen took over the organization. The planning of both the following congresses, in Pompeii (1994) and Syracuse (1998), was done by Dr. Nathalie de Haan, Dr. Gemma Jansen, Dr. Gerda de Kleijn and Susanna Piras. It was Professor de Waele who gave the congresses their trademark name, '*Cura Aquarum in Campania*' and '*Cura Aquarum in Sicilia*.' The international nature of the conferences was emphasised by the bilingual sub-title of the series: "International Conference on the History of Water Management and Hydraulic Engineering in the Mediterranean Region/*Internationales Symposium zur Geschichte der Wasserwirtschaft und des Wasserbaus im Mittelmediterranen Raum*."

The present volume contains the proceedings of the eleventh conference, held in Israel between 7–12 May 2001. It was organised by Yehuda Peleg, Yosef Porat, Ze'ev Meshel and Henning Fahlbusch and published by the Deutsche Wasserhistorische Gesellschaft (German Water History Association). The Association was founded in 2002 and this is the first of their publications. The conference was attended by delegates from 10 countries and covered a wide range of topics, although the main focus was Israel, the Middle East, and Anatolia. The work relating to Israel and the Middle East is of particular interest because the water systems were often in arid areas. An example is Moti Haiman's paper,¹ "Water Sources and the Iron Age II Settlement pattern in the Negev Desert", which is concerned with the problem of water supply in desert regions. Katharina Galor² then addressed the question of use of the plastered pools of Qumran, demonstrating that the Talmud does not rule out the possibility that the same pool can be used both for ritual immersion and water supply. The remarkable water collection system at Shivta,³ which is in the Negev

¹ Haiman 2002, pp. 23–31.

² Galor 2002, pp. 33–45.

³ Tsvika Tsuk 2002, pp. 65–80.

desert, is of some interest because the open pools used in the Roman period seem to have been supplemented by underground cisterns supplied with an aqueduct in the Byzantine period. As part of the Finnish Jabal Harûn project a survey was made of the barrages in the mountain of Aaron near Petra, built to save runoff water for cultivation and stabilise the soil.⁴ In a related paper, but located in a different part of the volume Hans Jochen Regner⁵ examines the question of runoff agriculture in the arid zones of both in ancient times and today. Yosef Porath⁶ takes a broader look at water supply in arid zones and shows that in Israel large-scale aqueducts were built in only two periods: the Hasmonean-Herodian and the Early Islamic. It seems that Herod was as active in building aqueducts as he was in other building projects. A somewhat different problem is discussed in the paper by Ze'ev Meshel,⁷ the dam was built to protect the oasis of Jericho from flash floods of the Wadi Mejer.

One would naturally expect to hear a good deal about Israel in this conference and the Israeli delegates did not disappoint. The conference began in the Middle Bronze Age with two papers⁸ outlining Jerusalem's water system, and an illuminating description of the water supply at Tel Beersheba in the first millennium BCE by Ze'ev Herzog.⁹ The discussion of the Banias aqueduct¹⁰ is of great interest because of the discovery of pipes or *calices*, whose diameter determined the volume of water allotted to each household, a process described by Frontinus (1.36) — very few others have been found elsewhere in the Roman world. There followed an update on the water supply system at Beth Shean by Henning Fahlbusch¹¹ and a somewhat inconclusive note on the aqueducts of Nahal Bet Ha-'Emeq and whether they supplied Acre.¹²

Some of the papers were written as much from an engineering as an archaeological standpoint. A good example of the former was Dora P. Crouch and Charles Orloff's very useful paper on water engineering at Priene and Ephesus with its succinct technical analysis of the flow control device under the West Gate at Priene, and highly professional discussion of the complex distribution and drainage networks of the city of Ephesus. Equally informative was Gibert Wiplinger's paper on water supply and water disposal in Hanghaus 2 at Ephesus. Dennis Murphy and Melissa Mengel discussed the problem of interpretation associated with the water cascade at Andriake near Myra in Turkey.¹³ Murphy and Mengel also described a small bathhouse and associated a *mansio* on one of the routes between the coast and the mountains of Lycia.¹⁴ Another paper on Turkey was Mehmet Bildirici's somewhat statistical analysis of a number of Turkish dams and pools.¹⁵

⁴ Lavento and Huotari 2002, pp. 93–106.

⁵ Regner 2002, pp. 267–278.

⁶ Porath 2002, pp. 107–111.

⁷ Meshel 2002, pp. 81–87.

⁸ Reich and Shukron 2002, pp. 1–6; Meiron 2002, pp. 7–13.

⁹ Herzog 2002, pp. 15–22.

¹⁰ Moshe Hartal 2002, pp. 47–54.

¹¹ Fahlbusch 2002, pp. 55–63.

¹² Acre (Rafael Frankel 2002, pp. 89–92).

¹³ Murphy and Mengel 2002, pp. 167–176.

¹⁴ Murphy and Mengel 2002, pp. 177–185.

¹⁵ Bildirici 2002, pp. 137–143.

The section of the conference dealing with Vitruvius produced three papers, one by Christoph Ohlig,¹⁶ a brief treatment of his findings relating to the *castellum aquae* at Pompeii (more fully dealt with in his book, *De aquis Pompeiorum*¹⁷). The other two, Paul Kessener¹⁸ and Yehuda Peleg¹⁹ deal with Vitruvius' explanation of inverted siphons.²⁰ Both examine the problem of entrapped air in siphons and the much-debated question of the meaning of the term, *colliquiaria* or *colliviaria*.²¹ Peleg sees them as stand-pipes 'installed in the horizontal part of an inverted siphon'.²² He uses as illustration the stand-pipes in the earthenware pipeline to Strasbourg and the surge tank at Caesarea Maritima (although the two use quite different principles, as Trevor Hodge²³ points out). By 'horizontal part' Peleg means the *venter*, which ran considerably below natural water level. A stand-pipe in the venter would have had to rise to water level, necessitating 'an impossibly large and costly structure'.²⁴ Kessener anticipates this problem and takes the word, *venter*, to be the siphon as a whole, not just the horizontal part, and sees *colliquiaria* as air vents at the start and end of the siphon. In a paper on a related topic Jean Burdy deals with the siphon bridges of the Gier Roman aqueduct near Lyon.²⁵ Written from an engineering standpoint it calculates the thrust at the lowest point of each siphon and demonstrates the importance of the *venter* in reducing water pressure. Burdy also touches upon the problem of the word, *colliviaria*, which he connects etymologically with *colluo* (I wash), concluding that it is a emptying device (a possibility suggested by Hodge).²⁶ At this point it seemed to me a pity that the three authors were not invited to a round-table discussion to argue their points of view.

The scope of the conference was extensive as is shown by Avi Sasson's well-illustrated paper on the public water fountains (*sabils*) of the Ottoman period.²⁷ Moving farther afield Mathias Döring²⁸ provided a detailed analysis of the astonishing system of reservoirs at Pozzuoli, Baia and Misenum, the last towns served by the Serino aqueduct. The proceedings closed with some health issues. The three last papers have water borne diseases²⁹ and thermo-mineral baths³⁰ as their theme.

The papers were of uneven quality, some being summary or purely descriptive. There was a dichotomy, usual in writings on ancient water systems, between papers written from an archaeological perspective and technical papers written from an engineering standpoint. However the sheer usefulness of this volume cannot be doubted. A wealth of information is being amassed by growing number of archaeologists on that most remarkable of ancient achievements, *cura aquarum*: water

¹⁶ Ohlig 2002, pp. 201–212.

¹⁷ Ohlig 2001.

¹⁸ Kessener 2002, pp. 187–200.

¹⁹ Peleg 2002, pp. 213–22.

²⁰ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 8.6.5–9.

²¹ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 8.6.6.

²² Peleg 2002, p. 221.

²³ Hodge 1991, *Roman Aqueducts and Water Supply* (London), p. 243.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

²⁵ Burdy 2002, pp. 239–252.

²⁶ Hodge 1991, p. 241.

²⁷ Sasson 2002, pp. 113–125.

²⁸ Döring 2002, pp. 253–265.

²⁹ Loebel 2002, pp. 279–284; Rosen and Greenberg 2002, pp. 285–293

³⁰ Köhler 2002, pp. 295–305.

supply, distribution and drainage. This volume is a valuable addition to that store of knowledge.

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Joseph Azize, *The Phoenician Solar Theology: An Investigation into the Phoenician Opinion of the Sun found in Julian's Hymn to King Helios* (Gorgias Dissertations 15). Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005. ISBN 1-5933-3321-06, pp. xi + 321.

Presumably this book is the publication of a Ph.D. thesis, something that the reader was not told by the author, but which the publishers made clear by pointing out that it forms part of the Gorgias Dissertations series, namely that is in fact 'Gorgias Dissertations 15, Near Eastern Studies 6'. It would have been nice if Joseph Azize had told us that this book is actually the publication of his dissertation (a Ph.D. by the looks of it) making us also privy as to who his supervisor was and to which University he submitted it. Even a cursory glance at this book leaves no doubt about the fact that this is one of those many dissertations which are nowadays seeing the light of day without much effort being made to transform their literary genre into that of a book.

This publication is well structured. There are first the usual preliminaries (Analytic Table of Contents, v–vi, a list of Abbreviations, vii–viii, a list of Figures, ix, and a Summary, xi), which are followed by the Introduction, 1–4 which is in turn followed by the main body of the book which is made up of eleven chapters (5–257) wherein Azize purports to examine the solar theology of the Phoenicians on the basis of both Classical and ancient Near Eastern sources. Finally, there is a Conclusion, 259–265, a Bibliography, which is divided into two groups, namely the Ancient Sources, 267–271, and Modern Authors, 271–301, as well as a very good and useful Index, 303–321, which is not mentioned in the list of Contents. At the very end there are six Figures (not all of which are that sharp) and one Plate, none of which are mentioned in the list of Contents and which carry no page numbers.

On the whole, this book is well written and largely free from misprints. However, at times the text is not that clear and the English does not always come across loud and clear. Thus, for example, we find the verb 'tradites' (225), which to my knowledge does not exist in the English language. Then there are a few misprints and errors which could have been avoided, such as the word 'from' which is in fact written in Greek characters (34)! Chapter 7, which deals with 'The Sun Goddess of Ugarit', is by and large not clearly written; thus, for example the paragraph in the middle of page 139 is replete with a series of sentences where there is no smooth transition from one to the other. On pages 255–256 there are some problems with the references, with notes 85 and 86 being announced on p. 255 but are actually found in the footnotes on page 256. Finally, there seems to be a confusion between the letter 'nun' as part of a verbal root (136) and its use as an energetic form of the

verb (137), a confusion that seems to stem not from any lack of knowledge on the part of Azize but because of a lack of clear writing.

The aim of Azize is to investigate the solar theology of the Phoenicians on the basis of the above-mentioned sources with special reference to the section known as the 'Solar Pericope' in the 'Hymn to King Helios' written in Greek in 362 AD by Julian, the Roman Emperor (15). This hymn is essentially a philosophical treatise, yet having some links with the former genre of hymns (20), and in this sense it is therefore rhetorical (23) with both philosophy and poetry being employed in order to draw out the true nature of the Sun (24). Julian worked with a three-storey intellectual scheme: for him there were three realms, namely the physical realm, the noetic realm (= the intelligible world) with the intelligible gods living behind whilst sustaining the physical realm, and the realm of the One in itself. The sun was at the centre of each of these realms, with the celestial body thus called being at the centre of the physical order, and the sun god at the centre of the two other orders (31–32). Azize claims that the Phoenicians had a similar — though not identical — concept (32), and that Julian cited the Phoenician theology as an independent corroboration for his own thesis. It is important to note that in Julian's time the link between the sun and the mind was a commonplace (82). Julian had multiple sources for the Phoenicians (53), and it is worth noting that Iamblichos (a Neoplatonic philosopher of third-fourth century AD), whom Julian usually relied on, has nothing similar to the latter's 'Solar Pericope' (6). Julian generally quoted and paraphrased his sources (such as Plato, Aristotle, and Homer) well, and thus we should take careful note when he claims that the Phoenician doctrine he refers to in the 'Solar Pericope' really stems from them and is not his own. Azize provides a beautiful translation of the relevant passage thus: 'And neither indeed does my discourse sing out of tune with this [Phoenician doctrine]' (34). He reminds us that a double negative does not make a positive in Greek but an emphatic negative, as indeed is the case here (34), though he fails to let the reader know that this is so because the negative is followed by a compound negative. Julian was Hellenocentric, and Azize is correct when he says that Julian would not have cited the Phoenicians in the 'Solar Pericope' had this section not been 'authentically Phoenician' (8). Some Phoenicians had set up a dedicatory inscription to Julian in Latin in the Upper Jordan Valley, which shows that they could also very well have been handing over 'reliable' knowledge about their own religion to people like Porphyry and Iamblichos who were among Julian's sources (109–111). In antiquity, thought could have been expressed either through symbols (and therefore mythologically) or through dialectic. The upshot of all these points led Azize to conclude that 'The Solar Pericope, read together with the other materials, shows us a body of thought in which the nature and origin of intellect has become a matter of reflection, and the results of this thought are expressed partly in mythical, partly in philosophical terms.' The only question is whether Julian misread or read into his Phoenician source or sources.

Does Azize actually prove his point? I have mixed feelings about this book. On one hand, it is very well documented and all in all it is methodologically sound. Thus, for example, his comments on the role of emendation in textual criticism (43), on parallels not necessarily tantamount to constituting 'a borrowing' (83), and his cogent reasoning as to why Porphyry must have known Biblical Hebrew (104–105) are exemplary. On the other hand, however, there are some methodological

weak points including some *non sequiturs*. Above all, I find that he too often moves in a maze of hypothetical statements on the basis of which he draws certain conclusions without underscoring that these are purely hypothetical. Thus, for example, he writes: 'If indeed these deities [Oton and Oulamos] are one and the same, then it may well be that "Oton" is Utu, the Sumerian sun god. If so, this name "Oton" would supplement my identification of Oulamos with the sun. That is, the proposed identification does not rest upon my suggested etymology of "Oton"' (260). But the point is that two hypothetical statements do not constitute a fact. Sometimes, Azize also falls prey to the trap of the argument from silence (230) which he himself refutes. Indeed, we also find some arguments which are built on etymological considerations which are hypothetical at best (201), and every now and then Azize is extremely hypothetical on matters, which after all do not seem to me to be relevant to the main topic of the book (200–201). As far as the question of Phoenician child sacrifice is concerned, he dismisses this rather too quickly and he endorses only one viewpoint held by some scholars that 'to pass children through the fire' means 'to dedicate a child to a deity' (204). He then moves on to connect such a ritual of dedication with the Phoenician concepts of life, death and rebirth which he claims are linked to the sun without really providing sufficient evidence for his claims (205).

The foregoing points should not obscure the fact that in this book Azize has also made some important contributions to the study of the relationship between ancient Near Eastern and Greek culture. Thus, for example, he points out that some Greek authors had suppressed the evidence of the contribution made by Phoenicia (and Egypt) to various sectors of their culture, including that of philosophy. He reminds us that other classical authors, however, did not have such a bias against the Phoenicians and Julian was one of them; as shown above, he clearly acknowledged his Phoenician source for the 'Solar Pericope'. We are also reminded by Azize that Diogenes Laertios says that some authors claim that the philosopher Thales was a Milesian, but he also states that other writers had stated that he was a Phoenician who had fled to Miletus. In this regard, Azize very aptly concludes '... , but it is difficult to see how the idea that he was a Phoenician could have started if it was untrue. It is simply not the sort of fiction once can imagine Greek writers contriving' (124). Azize's comments regarding the Greek equivalents of Phoenician deities are also very good, and time and time again we are reminded that there is no simple single equivalence. Indeed, Phoenician Astarte could be viewed as either Greek Aphrodite or Hera, but 'Aphrodite seems always to have been Astarte' (39).

On the basis of the Phoenician inscriptions of Ahiram, Tabnit, Eshmunazar II, and the son of Shipitba'al, Azize concludes that the word 'sun' could be used as a symbol either of passing time, in which case the phrase 'under the sun' is used, or of eternity when the phrase 'the eternal Sun' is employed (164–165). For Azize, the fact that the sun is eternal is tantamount to an existence 'as related to, if not ruled over by, the eternal sun' (263). However, he seems to be reading too much into the aforementioned two phrases, especially in view of the fact that there is evidence from the ancient Near East that the phrase 'under the sun' can actually be employed in connection with eternity; thus, in the Epic of Gilgamesh we read: 'Only the gods [live] forever under the sun' (Speiser 1969, p. 79), and this should make us pause before we see an intrinsic link between the phrase 'under the sun' which refers to passing time, as opposed to eternity (165). Indeed, it is a commonplace that in Classical Hebrew the phrase 'under the sun' simply stands for 'on the earth'.

Azize correctly points out that various classical sources indicate very clearly that the Phoenicians themselves were feeding them with material relevant to their solar theology. In his 'Touring Description of Greece' which he wrote between circa 155 and 174/180 AD, Pausanias reports a dialogue between himself and a Sidonian regarding the sun as that planet which causes the seasonal changes thereby bringing about healthy life. For Azize this means that in the second century AD there were still Phoenicians who were able to speak Greek and who still talked about their solar theology (242). What is very intriguing is the fact that he adduces a good deal of interesting material from various classical sources to show that the Phoenicians too worshipped Yahweh, namely the god Iao (although there could be other Greek variants of this form) as a solar deity (248). However, there is a basic problem in how one views Hierambolos, the priest of Yahweh in Beirut: on page 228, Azize accepts that Porphyry's Hierambolos is Jeremiah, whereas on page 254 he states that this Hierambolos 'was a priest of that god [Yahweh] in Beirut, who is an expert in matters to do with Israel.' In the first instance, Hierambolos was a Hebrew whose works were accepted in Beirut, and thus the Phoenicians who had close ties with the Hebrews would have added one other god to their pantheon, whereas in the second instance we would be dealing with Yahweh as one of Phoenicia's earliest gods. Porphyry's own words reproduced on page 228 seem to favour the first interpretation and thus to militate against the claim made by Azize that there was an original Phoenician cult of Yahweh. In order to further this latter claim, Azize appeals to two Phoenician inscriptions from Kition in Cyprus where the name of Yahweh is used as a theophoric element. However, he actually begs the question when he states that these inscriptions provide 'further evidence for a Phoenician Yahweh cult' (256). Thus, for example, the fact that in one of the inscriptions 'zryhw was the father of mtnštrt does not give Azize the green light to conclude that 'the simplest explanation is that in at least the case of Azaryahu, we have a Yahweh name given to a Phoenician polytheist', for the simple reason that it is a commonplace that at least between 1200 and 1000 B.C. syncretism was rampant in Early Ancient Israel (as attested by both the Hebrew Bible and archaeology) and that the name Baal was used as a theophoric element in early Hebrew names (thus, for example, the original name of Jonathan's son was 'Merib-baal' (1 Chronicles 8: 34, 9: 40) which was later on changed to 'Mephibosheth' (2 Samuel 4: 4) so as to avoid the 'scandalous' employment of the name 'Baal' for a Hebrew child.

When Azize appeals to John Lydus, who was one of Julian's intellectuals at Constantinople, he cites him to the effect that Iao (Yahweh) is noetic light 'in the Phoenician tongue' something which we are told was also claimed by Philo of Byblos (245). As Azize himself admits, such an idea stems from Neoplatonism, although Julian 'spoke of this connection between sunbeams and *nous* as a Phoenician idea' (245). Indeed, for Azize Lydus provides late 'but reliable evidence for a Phoenician connection between light and intelligence'; in Lydus, Iao (Yahweh) is identical to the intelligent/intelligible light (245). This is all very well argued by Azize when it comes to his showing us what the classical sources are *claiming*; however, there is one basic major problem, namely that most of these sources used by Azize were written by Neoplatonists and he has not shown us whether they 'read' the Phoenician standpoint correctly or not. The essential question is whether these Neoplatonists (including Julian himself) 'read' the Phoenician solar theology correctly or whether they 'read into' it through their Neoplatonic

lens. The Phoenician texts regarding the sun that are marshalled by Azize, do not *per se* warrant the reading given by Julian and the other Neoplatonic authors.

Notwithstanding the foregoing points, I think that Azize has produced a very interesting piece of work which is certainly very well documented and which (as shown above) includes some gems. However, some sections are off point and not all the book reads well. The 'Solar Pericope' in Julian could indeed be authentically Phoenician, but this is not borne out by the Phoenician texts themselves. So, if the classical texts are to be believed on this point, it might be the case that we are in fact dealing with a late development of Phoenician solar theology which is not evident in the ancient Phoenician texts themselves, the latter providing purely some verbal associations for a later development on Neoplatonic lines.

Reference

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